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ART. I.—*Rights of Conscience defended, in a Speech of Thomas Herttell, Esq., in the Assembly of the State of New-York, (on Thursday, the 7th of May, 1835,) on the Bill relative to the Rights and Competency of Witnesses. Also, his Reply to Mr. (Speaker) Humphrey's Remarks against the Bill and in Support of the Religious Test Act. Second edition. 12mo., pp. 64. New-York: G. W. & A. J. Matsell. 1835.*

SOME time since this tract came to us through the post-office from a young gentleman who was once a student in an institution of which we had the honor to have the charge. Upon the margin was inserted the name and compliments of our quondam pupil, with "please exchange." We gave the thing a careful reading, and laid it by with the purpose of giving it a review at some future time. This purpose it has not served our convenience to execute until now. It is only in view of two considerations that we can be justified in calling attention to this production. One is, that the subject is vitally important, and the doctrines of the pamphlet being still entertained and propagated, it is necessary that the real merits of the question should be presented, that it may be well understood. Another reason is, that the poison has probably been extensively diffused, and a remedy may be required. The tract is got up in a popular form, and this is the "second edition," and how many of them are now afloat it is difficult to tell. It is when men *sleep* that the enemy sows *tares*. It is now no time to give place to doctrines in politics and religion that are subversive of the great principles of government.

The author of this pamphlet will at once be recognized by many as the gentleman who for years made such strenuous efforts to imbue the legislature of this state with the principles and morality of the most exalted species of infidelity, and to purge the house of the "*licentiousness*" of public prayers. This gentleman, we are

told, (for we have never seen him,) is becoming somewhat advanced in years; and as he nears the point which is to test the truth of his speculations, he does not at all decline in his attachment to "liberal principles." Without the least unkindness toward this veteran infidel politician and philosopher, we shall proceed to an examination of the main principles of the production before us.

This "speech" was delivered "in committee of the whole, on the following bill, relative to the rights and competency of witnesses :"—

"§ 1. No person shall be deemed incompetent as a witness in any court, matter, or proceeding, on account of his or her opinions on the subject of religion; nor shall any witness be questioned, nor any testimony be taken or received, in relation thereto, either before or after such witness shall have been sworn."—P. 3.

And as the father and advocate of the bill, he thus explains it :—

"It is easy to perceive that the object of the bill now before the committee, is to repeal the existing *religious test act*. It is true, there is no statute bearing that title: but it is no less true, that it would be a very appropriate title for article ix, part iii, title 3d, vol. ii, p. 407 of the revised laws. If, however, it were intended more particularly to indicate the true character of the law by its inscription, it should have been entitled, 'An act to vest the courts of civil judicature in this state with ecclesiastical jurisdiction; and to confer religious inquisitorial powers on every magistrate who is authorized by law to administer an oath.' Nor less appropriate would it have been had the law in question been entitled, 'An act imposing penalties and forfeitures for *unbelief* of certain *religious doctrines* therein mentioned.'—Pp. 4, 5.\*

The gentleman next proceeds to explain his ground, thus :—

"I deem it proper, while on the threshold of this discussion, explicitly to disclaim any intention to prove or disprove the truth or error of the doctrines contained in the *statutory* or any other religious creed. I stand not here as the assailant of any man's religion. On the contrary, I contend for the equal right of all mankind to *think*, *believe*, and *worship* as they please: and that political governments

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\* The following two sections show what the law is upon the subject :—

"§ 107. [Sec. 87.] Every person believing in the existence of a supreme Being who will punish false swearing, shall be admitted to be sworn, if otherwise competent.

"§ 108. [Sec. 88.] No person shall be required to declare his belief in the existence of a supreme Being, or that he will punish false swearing, or his belief or disbelief of any other matter, as a requisite to his admission to be sworn or to testify in any case. But the belief or unbelief of every person offered as a witness may be proved by other and competent testimony."—*Revised Statutes*, vol. ii, p. 329.



neither possess nor can acquire a legitimate right to interfere with any man's *opinions* when not accompanied with any *criminal act*."—P. 5.

All very fair. At the beginning the worthy gentleman is by no means to be regarded in a belligerent attitude in relation to "any man's religion:" not at all. We will see whether he maintains his ground to the consummation. He is aware that he "may disturb some questions which by many have been regarded as fully and righteously settled." He "may take some positions which some, who have not reflected much on the subject, may consider as untenable; and possibly may be obliged to tread on ground which many have been in the habit of regarding as *holy*. But the protection and preservation of the natural, inalienable, and equal rights of men are" his "objects; in the pursuit of which, through the medium of the palpable, immutable, and equal principles of truth and justice," he holds "no ground too holy to be explored; no doctrines too sacred to be examined; and none *true* which have only '*old age*,' and honest advocates to entitle them to be respected." A fair start, to be sure! Now, for a most free, full, fearless, liberal, enlightened, and learned investigation of this most interesting and important subject. But next to his propositions:—

"I shall proceed to show to this committee,

"First. That the rights of conscience, of opinion, and of speech, are also inalienable.

"Secondly. That those rights are guaranteed by the express provisions of the constitution.

"Thirdly. That the law in question violates those inalienable rights, and the provisions of the constitution by which they are intended to be secured; and hence that the legislature has no constitutional authority to pass it, nor the judiciary any legitimate power to enforce it.

"Fourthly. That the *principle* of the existing act is based on radical error."—P. 6.

Upon his first proposition the gentleman proceeds:—

"It is not my intention on this occasion to deliver a lecture on the human understanding; yet with a view to a clear illustration of the subject under immediate consideration, I deem it proper to remark, that each individual of the human species is to a greater or less extent endowed with *senses* and *intellectual faculties*. The *right* of each to the *use* of his own, is demonstrated by the natural impossibility that he can successfully resist the use of them."—P. 7.

We will most freely admit that all men have a *right* to use their *senses* and their *understanding*, and indeed that there is a physical and moral necessity that they should do so in some sort. But that they have a right to use these functions, and that there is any

"natural impossibility" that they should not use them *just as they do*, we shall be rather slow to concede. But hear our orator further :—

"The right, therefore, of each individual to the use of his *senses* and *intellectual faculties* is natural and *inalienable*. The right to *use* them, implies '*the right to possess* the thoughts resulting from their use. The right to *possess* those thoughts implies the right to *profess* them. The right to *possess* them, is the *right of opinion*—the right to *profess* them, is the *right of speech*; the unrestrained and unmolested exercise and enjoyment of which constitutes the freedom of opinion and of speech; and comprises also the liberty of conscience and the right of free discussion.'"—P. 7.

Upon this we would observe, that the right of opinion is above all human laws. A man is only accountable to God for his thoughts and opinions. But the right to *profess* opinions is quite another thing. We cannot concede to this gentleman the "unrestrained and unmolested exercise and enjoyment" of the privilege of saying what he pleases, irrespective of the rights of society. A man can think without infringing upon the rights of others. But when he gives tangible form to his thoughts by clothing them in words, he comes into contact with other men who also have rights to be respected and preserved. Consequently his right to speak must always be limited by his social relations. He can have no right to disorganize society or otherwise injure it, by the publication of his opinions, any more than by the employment of physical force. We must hasten, however, to meet the gentleman's main argument.

"Human *thoughts* are impressions made on the mind by evidence presented through the medium of the *senses* and the *intellectual faculties*. Man cannot avoid *thinking*, to a greater or less extent. He cannot resolve that he will not *think*, without instantly seeing the folly of such a pretence, and the futility of the attempt to execute it; for then he will *think* the more. Human *thoughts*, therefore, are *involuntary* and *irresistible*. Man cannot govern his *thoughts* nor restrain them."—P. 7.

Here is a most splendid specimen of infidel philosophy. By a single stroke the gentleman completely evades all responsibility, legal or moral, for any expression of sentiments whatsoever. If, then, we should happen to think "Thomas Herttell, Esq.," an infamous villain, a traitor to his country, a thief and a robber, and should exercise the right of speech by publishing our opinions to the world, what sort of treatment would we be likely to receive from that gentleman? We should probably be brought before a

civil tribunal to answer to a charge of slander. Well, suppose we should come before the court, and plead that we really thought Mr. Herttell to be all that we represented him; and as our thoughts are "involuntary and irresistible," and in expressing them we only exercised the "right of speech," therefore we beg to be discharged. What would be the decision of the court can be easily anticipated. But would our prosecutor have the magnanimity to withdraw his action upon our urging his own principles, as stated above? Is it not rather probable that, shrugging up his shoulders and shaking his head, he would reply, as did the lawyer in the fable to the farmer, "That, sir, *alters the case?*"

The learned lecturer proceeds:—

"Whence, then, does the legislature obtain authority to establish a censorship on the operations of the human mind, and to designate, by statutory enactments, what human *thoughts* shall be deemed *legal*, and what *illegal*? and where the *justice* of inflicting penalties for a violation of such an act of legislative usurpation? Can any conceivable absurdity exceed *that* of a legislature of a free people, gravely enacting that their constituents shall *think* that there is a 'supreme Being who will punish for false swearing?'—Pp. 7, 8.

Here he stumbles upon the fallacy, "*ignoratia elinchi*," or missing the question. The obnoxious law says nothing about "what human *thoughts* shall be deemed *legal* or *illegal*." But let us hear him through. "And that if any shall think otherwise they shall be deprived of the right to give testimony, and thus be subjected to the many other deprivations consequent upon not thinking as the law directs." Here he is utterly in the fog. The law does no such thing. It simply says, "Every one believing in the existence of a supreme Being who will punish false swearing, shall be admitted to be sworn, if otherwise competent." Now every witness is presumed to have this faith until proof is adduced to the contrary, and such proof can only rest on the *words* of the challenged witness. His thoughts can be no matter of proof unless he has expressed them. The law prescribes to him no faith, nor does it inflict upon him any penalty. It simply requires that a witness in solemn appeal to God for the truth of what he says, and an imprecation of the punishment of false swearing upon himself if he does not tell the truth, must not have denied "the existence of a supreme Being who will punish false swearing." Now this sage philosopher condemns this as unauthorized oppression, and contends lustily for the contrary practice. He pleads that a man should be permitted to swear by a Being whose very existence he denies, and to imprecate upon himself a punishment, if he swear



false, which has no existence, or which by possibility can never take place. Now this is the true issue between the honorable gentleman and us, and the sum of his quarrel with the existing law. This profound philosopher gravely asks the representatives of the people of the state of New-York to sanction a solemn farce—to permit him to come before a court and swear by a *nonentity* that what he states is true, and to invoke upon his head another *nonentity* if it is not so! Profound philosophy! What a wonder that the notions of the gentleman did not meet with the unqualified approbation of every man of sense in the state! This is a defense of “*liberty*” and the “*rights of conscience*” with a vengeance! A few more such efforts will doubtless entitle the name of “Thomas Herttell, Esq.,” to be enrolled with those of the greatest benefactors of mankind.

But to treat the subject gravely. Let it be observed, that an oath is itself a religious act—a recognition of the existence and government of God. And if the gentleman sees proper to set aside these fundamental principles of religion, and so to render it a perfect absurdity for him to be called upon to perform such an act, why who is to blame? The competency of an atheist to swear upon the Holy Bible can scarcely be made a question. The thing itself is evidently absurd. The gentleman should not quarrel with the law on account of his being abridged in his rights in not being permitted to swear, but should go a little further back, and show that oaths themselves are absurd, and that society is organized upon a false foundation. If he should question the propriety of oaths on the ground of atheism, there would be some consistency in his course. The question then fairly at issue between him and us would be, whether there be a supreme Being who exercises a moral government over the world. And when he shall convince the people of this commonwealth that there is no such Being, they will promptly make laws to dispense with the mummery of swearing by a mere nullity, and then the honorable gentleman will, in his civil privileges and relations, stand upon a level with other men.

The gentleman’s notions of *conscience* are meagre and ill-defined, if not grossly absurd. He seems to use the terms *conscience* and *opinion* as synonymous. So, according to him, a man’s *opinions* of religious matters are his *conscience*. Whatever these opinions may be, though *adverse* to all religion, these opinions constitute his *conscience*, and must not be disturbed. He may deny the existence of God, and denounce all religious institutions and moral discipline as false and absurd, and all this constitutes his religious

belief, his conscience; and every institution of the state which proceeds upon the supposition of the divine existence and government, so far as it affects him as a member of society, so far infringes the rights of conscience! Now we have been accustomed to think the very notion of conscience supposes the divine existence and government. It is a moral sense founded upon these principles. It has with great propriety been defined *a discriminating and an impulsive faculty, with reference to moral rules, obligations, and responsibilities*. But there can be no moral rule, obligation, or responsibility, without a moral Governor.

So, then, the doleful complaints made by this gentleman on account of alledged violations of the rights of conscience, whatever may be the object of them, are without the least foundation. For he has, in the first place, annihilated the very being of conscience. Upon the atheistic theory there is no such thing to have rights, and, of course, the violation of such rights can never be possible. If he say, his *religious opinions* are his conscience, and these are violated by the law in question, we answer: 1. Properly speaking he has no *religious opinions*. Opinions adverse to religion may properly be styled opinions *upon* religion, or belief *as to* religion, but can with no show of propriety be called *religious opinions* or religious belief; but more of this anon. 2. We admit his notions of religion are violated in the instance of which he complains: but, then, this is not the fault of the law itself, but of the principles upon which the law regulating oaths is founded.

Our author comes to his second argument, which he states at length, as follows:—

“Secondly. In further confirmation of the foregoing truths, and in order to show the unconstitutionality of the existing *religious test act*, I shall now proceed to prove, that so far is the government from possessing any legitimate authority to molest any citizen in the free exercise and enjoyment of his inalienable rights of *opinion* and of *speech*, or to prescribe or proscribe any *opinions*, religious or otherwise, the constitution expressly interdicts such interference, and guaranties the rights of conscience and freedom of opinion, ‘without *discrimination* or *preference*, to ALL MANKIND’ (each and every individual) ‘within this state.’

“The 1st section of article vii of the constitution declares, that ‘no member of this state shall be disfranchised or deprived of any rights or privileges secured to any citizen thereof, unless by the law of the land or the judgment of his *peers*,’ viz., a verdict of a *jury*.

“The constitution is the supreme ‘law of the land;’ and the 3d section of article vii thereof declares, that ‘the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession’ (*belief* or *opinion*) ‘without *discrimination* or *preference*, shall for ever be allowed in this state to ALL MAN-

KIND.' This broad and explicit guaranty of the free exercise of religious opinion, or opinion on religious subjects; this unqualified assurance of the right of every person to profess' (speak) 'his *opinions* on religious matters,' is subject to no exception. It is true that a clause of the article under consideration provides that 'the liberty of conscience hereby secured, shall not be so construed as to excuse *acts* of licentiousness;' (not *licentious opinions*;) 'nor justify *practices*' (*acts*, not *opinions*) 'inconsistent with the peace or safety of the state:' still leaving the government unqualifiedly forbidden to take cognizance of the *opinions* of any of its constituents when not associated with any *criminal act*.

"The 7th section of said article vii of the constitution provides that 'every citizen may freely *speak* and publish his sentiments on *all* subjects,' (including, of course, those on religion,) 'being responsible' (only) 'for the *abuse* of that right,' and further, that 'no law shall be passed to restrain or abridge the liberty of *speech* or of the press.'"—Pp. 11, 12.

In the first place, the reader should notice that we have a garbled quotation of the constitution. That this may be seen we will give the words as they stand in the book. The third section of the seventh article of the constitution of the state of New-York stands thus:—

"SEC. III. The free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination or preference, shall for ever be allowed in this state, to all mankind; but the liberty of conscience hereby secured shall not be so construed as to excuse acts of licentiousness, or justify practices inconsistent with the peace or safety of this state."—*Revised Statutes*, vol. i, p. 44.

Upon a comparison the reader will see that for "the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship," the gentleman has "the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession" "*belief or opinion*." Expounding the word "profession" to mean "*belief or opinion*," and leaving out the word "worship," and so most grossly perverting the sense. Is this a fair and honorable course? Let all judge for themselves how strong a claim a disputant who will take such liberty as this with a document has upon the confidence of the public.

But next we observe, that the gentleman makes a false issue. He proceeds upon the assumption that the constitution of the state of New-York is based upon atheism, and that it guaranties to atheists all the rights, privileges, and immunities of other men, whereas if he had looked at the first paragraph he would have seen his mistake. That paragraph reads as follows:—

"We, the people of the state of New-York, acknowledging with gratitude the grace and beneficence of God, in permitting us to make



choice of our form of government, do establish this constitution."—*Revised Statutes*, vol. i, p. 37.

Here is a distinct and explicit acknowledgment upon the part of "the people of the state of New-York" of "the grace and benevolence of God." Carrying with them this recognition, they advance to the various articles of the compact. Now having acknowledged "the grace and benevolence of God," they proceed, as is fit, to give all "the free enjoyment and exercise of religious profession and worship." But this is a very different thing from guarantying to any the right of denying the very existence and government of God, and, of course, of not "acknowledging" his "grace and benevolence." This would be to destroy the very foundation of the superstructure, which had been laid in the outset. Indeed the atheist throws himself fairly beyond the limits of the civil compact. He does not consent to the grounds and principles upon which the superstructure is laid. He does not *acknowledge* the *grace* and *benevolence* of *God*. And what singular effrontery is it for him to come forward and demand immunities founded upon this basis, and especially to plead that his avowed *unbelief* of all religion is that "religious profession and worship," the free exercise of which is secured to all in this constitution. Who did "the honorable member from the city" suppose himself addressing? Surely not the intelligent representatives of the empire state!

Again, his definition of "religious profession" is strangely absurd. He says, "This broad and explicit guaranty of the free exercise of religious opinion, or opinion on religious subjects," &c. So, then, "opinions on religious subjects" are "religious opinions!" More, they are "religious profession and worship!" So we suppose, by parity of reason, opinions on political subjects: the opinion of an old lady, that politics was a certain kind of mischievous *ticks*, are political opinions and professions—opinions on scientific subjects are, no doubt, very scientific opinions! The opinion of the king of Siam was, that water could never become so solid as to bear great burdens, and this was, according to our philosopher, a very scientific opinion! An ignorant person denies the rotundity of the earth, and declares that if the world were to turn over, it would empty all the mill-ponds, and throw down all the stone walls, and this being an opinion on the science of astronomy, must be a most scientific opinion!

The gentleman's long argument under this head rests entirely upon the sophism, *petitio principii*, or begging the question. He assumes that the *constitution of this state secures to an atheist the*

*right of taking an oath.* Now this is what remains to be proved. And this once proved, his argument upon certain articles of the constitution will be good and valid. It would indeed, as we have seen, be perfectly absurd for such provision to be made in the supreme law of the land after distinctly recognizing the existence of God; but still, if it were even so, he would have just grounds of complaint were he to be disfranchised of that right. Now *he is disfranchised of no right*; for he claims as a right what never did and never could in any consistency belong to him. He proceeds to give us a long list of grievances—to make an exhibition of the most forlorn condition of the poor *conscientious* infidel, who rejects “the statutory creed,” that “there is a God who will punish false swearing.” And his picture is really affecting. But, after all, how will a rational mind be moved in view of the whole case? Will any be moved with sympathy for the miserable disfranchised atheist, and indignation against the laws by which he is stripped of the rights and immunities of a member of the social compact, or will he pity and mourn over the wretched stupidity and perversion of all reason which are apparent in the man himself? What a spectacle he has before him! A fellow-man closing his eyes against the clearest light! laboring to blight for ever the last opening bud of reason! at war with the very foundations of our civil institutions, and of the great social compact! And writhing under the natural and necessary consequences of his own folly, he vociferates the most doleful complaints against the injustice of the laws, in depriving him of the “inalienable rights of *conscience*!” Miserable man! But who can help him? Upon the position he now occupies, his case is utterly hopeless, in any other event than the final annihilation of the foundations of society.

We come, finally, to the last proposition which the gentleman attempts to maintain, viz., “that the principle of” what he calls “the religious test act is based in radical error.” In stating what he considers “the principle of that law,” he says,—

“It assumes for its basis, that ‘*belief* in the existence of a supreme Being, and that he will punish false swearing,’ is the binding tie or obligation of an oath: and that a witness who shall profess such *belief*, or in the absence of any proof that he shall have said that he did *not believe* in that doctrine, is admitted to be a *competent* witness, however bad his general reputation for truth and veracity may happen to be. The law in question assumes also that every man is dishonest who does not *fear* future punishment for perjury; and that no man will *fear* who does *not believe* in future punishment for that crime; and consequently every *unbeliever* of the statutory creed will perjure himself if admitted to his oath, however good his reputation for truth and veracity,

and however free from any interest or inducement to violate the truth."  
—Pp. 29, 30.

This, we are compelled to say, instead of being a fair and correct statement of the true principles of the law prescribing the qualifications of a witness, is a gross misrepresentation of the whole matter. The true principle upon which the law rests is simply this: that belief in the existence of a supreme Being who will punish false swearing, is necessary to a feeling of the moral obligation of an oath. And this principle must be obvious to the common sense of all mankind. It by no means assumes that "every man is dishonest who does not fear future punishment for perjury," nor that those who profess to have this fear will always tell the truth, even under oath. All this is wide of the simple principle upon which the law is founded. A man who professes to believe "the statutory creed," as the gentleman calls it, may not be so far under its practical influence as always to "fear an oath," and an atheist may, from other than religious considerations, always speak the truth. But what is all this to the question? The question is simply, whether a recognition of the existence and government of a supreme Being is essential to the obligations and sacredness of an oath? Here we are at odds. We affirm, and Mr. Herttell denies: where the "radical error" is, the reader may judge.

All his flourishing about the superior virtue of infidels, and the views of "believers in the statutory creed," if what he says were to be relied upon as true, is wholly irrelevant. His whole argument rests upon his own "radical error" in conceiving of the real principles upon which the law in question "is based," and consequently having shown this "error" in the gentleman's statement, it is unnecessary to follow him through his various illustrations.

We shall notice one or two points more belonging to this part of the gentleman's speech, and shall then pass on. He says,—

"The existing religious test act, therefore, like all other laws which have emanated from the evil spirit of religious intolerance, oppression, and persecution, in its operation, holds out inducements to a hypocritical and dishonest profession of the statutory religious faith, and is not only *destitute of any moral influence*; but is *radically defective in moral principle*."—P. 31.

Strange indeed! The act is "defective in moral principle," because "it holds out inducements to a hypocritical and dishonest profession." How so? It requires certain moral qualifications for certain acts. Now, if men have not the qualifications, and it would be a matter of interest to them to be competent to the acts,



it is in the nature of the case that there is a sort of motive presented to a corrupt mind for a false profession. But this is not the fault of the law, any more than it is the fault of public opinion that an abandoned villain has a motive to appear to be an honest man, in the approbation of community. The gentleman might, with the same reason, inveigh against the moral sense of community because it "holds out inducements to a hypocritical profession of" a sincere regard for the popular moral code. It is a pity indeed to try the virtue of our infidel friends in this way; for they abhor *hypocrisy* the most of all things. And if one of them should, by the force of circumstances, be induced to violate his "conscience," and make "a hypocritical and dishonest profession of the statutory faith," he might never again be able to recover the confidence of the fraternity. Such a violation of "conscience" and of all "moral principle" would be an unpardonable offense, or perhaps we should say, a sad departure from *infidel* "religious profession and worship."

Without any further notice of the principles or reasonings of the speech, we will bring our readers to the conclusion. This is not a little remarkable. Its most striking feature is the strong confidence which is exhibited of the success of the measure advocated. Mr. Herttell hopes "the bill will be agreed to by the committee;" he is "satisfied that such ought to be the case," and believes "such a result probable." He thinks it better be passed, and passed "promptly, and with a good grace." "It must become a law of this state at no very distant day." He deems this "just as certain as that the people have intelligence sufficient to understand their rights—virtue enough to respect them—spirit enough to assert them—and power enough to reclaim and protect them." And this is certain enough! The gentleman now takes his seat with "a good grace" indeed, having not a remaining doubt in his own mind of the truth of all his positions, and the conclusiveness of his arguments; and most confidently believing that he has conducted the house to the same results to which he had been conducted in his learned cogitations, he now looks for the bill to pass without further opposition. But to his great disappointment "Mr. (speaker) Humphrey" had the temerity (or something else) to arise and present several grave objections to the passage of the bill. This opposition of the speaker (or some other cause unforeseen by the able defender of the bill) was instrumental in bringing upon him the sad and unexpected mortification of a total defeat! But defeated, our champion of the "rights of conscience" is not conquered. He "took the *floor* to reply: but the lateness of the hour, and the

clamorous impatience of the house to adjourn, prevented the friends of the bill from exercising their right to reply to the *speaker's* allegations at the proper time and place." All the gentleman could do was to announce that he should not "attempt at the present time any further discussion of the merits of the bill;" but if ever his "argument should be published," he should avail himself of the "occasion and of the right—to reply to the speaker's remarks." This "reply" we have in the latter part of the pamphlet before us, and his success in meeting the speaker's objections we shall next proceed to look after.

In his rejoinder Mr. Herttell states several objections, which he represents as having been made by the speaker, to which he gives, what he doubtless wishes to have considered, a satisfactory answer. Most of this part of the pamphlet is but a repetition of what he had urged in the address, only differing in the virulence of its temper and the loudness of its complaints. One argument of the speaker's seems to have affected the gentleman more seriously than any other, and this is the only one we shall formally notice. According to Mr. Herttell it was as follows:—

" 'Unbelievers in the existence of a supreme Being who will punish false swearing' have no religion—no sense of moral obligation—no ties of conscience to bind them to tell the truth when under oath; and therefore no right to be witnesses in a court of justice: and the law in question, which interdicts their being sworn as such, does not debar them of any right secured to them by the constitution, the provisions of which guaranty 'the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession' only, and not irreligious opinions"—Pp. 51, 52.

To this he replies:—

"I did not intend, when advocating the passage of the bill in committee, to assail any man's *religion*, nor to controvert any man's *faith* in any of the various and numberless *sorts of religion* which have from time to time prevailed or been exploded in the different nations of the earth: nor did I mean to discuss the truth or error of the statutory creed, or any other theological doctrine or dogma, any further than was indispensably necessary to expose the injustice and unconstitutionality of the *ecclesiastical* statute under animadversion: and I so stated in the opening of my argument. But when the advocates of the existing *religious test act* undertake to defend it on *religious grounds*, and hold their own peculiar *religious creed* as exclusively *righteous* and *moral*, and as sufficient authority to justify an attack on the moral character of all *dissenters* from *such religious faith*, and deem their *unbelief* just cause for stigmatizing them as *infidels*; using that term as an epithet of reproach 'significant of religious error and moral dereliction:' . . . when the advocates of a legislative act, uniting political and ecclesiastical powers, thus voluntarily and indiscreetly throw open the por-

tals of their religious sanctuary, and make their *religious faith* subservient to the purposes of hostility and denunciation of all who do not believe in the *truth or moral influence of such religion*, however blameless their moral character; I claim the right and shall exercise it as an imperative duty, not only to reply to such *assumptions* and to repel such *imputations*; but if necessary, even to approach the very altar of such *religious faith*, with a view to exhibit its true character, and to show that *infidelity* to such *religion* is neither evidence of *error* nor *immorality*, and that legislative 'weapons of warfare' against such *unbelief* are 'carnal,' immoral, unrighteous, and oppressive."—Pp. 52, 53.

This paragraph contains a great many words, and threatens terrible execution; but upon the slightest touch it will burst like a bubble and expire. It contains one mistake, and that is, that those who urge this objection "hold their own peculiar *religious creed* as exclusively *righteous* and *moral*." Now they simply hold, that *faith in the existence and government of a supreme Being* is necessary to religion and a sense of moral obligation: that there can, consequently, be no security for truth under oath where this faith is wanting. And who that has a particle of common sense and common honesty left will pretend to doubt this? Now, Mr. Herttell, open your batteries and do your worst! "Approach the very altars of such religious faith with a view to exhibit its true character," and if you will not becloud its glory with volleys of fog and smoke, it will still appear in its native dignity and grandeur.

But when this minute philosopher complains so bitterly of the speaker's argument as *hostile, denunciatory, unrighteous, and oppressive*, has he forgotten that "human thoughts are involuntary and irresistible?" One would think he ought never to forget this great principle in mental philosophy, as he refers to it some half a dozen times in the course of his speech and defense, for the sole purpose of justifying his infidelity. And why not give Mr. Speaker Humphrey the benefit of the theory, which, if true, must surely be as applicable to him as to Mr. Herttell? What the speaker says is but the development of his thoughts, and these Mr. Herttell "*knows to be involuntarily received—sincerely entertained, and honestly avowed*."—P. 59. And yet he complains, resists, threatens, and foams with rage at this result of a *certain and invincible fatality* which governs the origin and succession of "human thoughts!" But perhaps our philosopher exempts the minds of religious people from the operations of this universal law. And though infidels are not to be condemned for their opinions of religion and religious people, because they are "involuntarily received," yet the opinions of Mr. Humphrey and other advocates for religion



on infidelity and infidels, are *at all events* very much to be *censured*, whether they be “involuntarily received” or otherwise !

It will be recollected that Mr. Herttell declared in the outset, that he did not “stand as the assailant of any man’s religion,” he only stood up to “contend for the equal right of all mankind to *think, believe, and worship* as they please.” But it would seem from what occurred subsequently that he intended to occupy this fair and pacific ground only on the condition that no one should oppose his favorite measure. For when the speaker gave him a little trouble he considers it a sufficient reason for shifting his position, and now he will “approach the very altar” of our “religious faith—and show that *infidelity* to such a *religion* is neither evidence of error nor immorality.” And now we have the whole broadside in several pages, which are too blasphemous and shocking to the feelings of men of good taste to admit of repetition in our pages, the sum of which may be gathered from the following remarks.

Here, then, we are brought to our reflections:—1. If infidels are already good enough, what need of religion to make them better? Sure enough. But we happen to be so uncharitable as to feel some “involuntary” doubts arise in our mind whether these infidel saints are altogether so pure and good as the gentleman would have us believe. 2. He wishes us to be satisfied with a religion that only consists in men’s being “just and kind to each other,” leaving the idea of God and divine worship out of the question. But for our part, we must have a religion that recognizes a divine Being who is entitled to our highest adoration and best affections, or do without any religion at all. 3. We see the most indubitable evidence that this profound politician and philosopher has indeed read some portions of the Bible, for he makes several quotations from that book. This would be to us a matter of no little interest were it not for the fact, that these quotations are only made for the purpose of perversion and profane scoffing! 4. And, finally, in view of the spirit and manner of the whole, we can scarcely tell which has the predominance, ignorance, effrontery, or impiety. A man who is capable of such blasphemous rant is scarcely capable of feeling the force of an argument. But still it may be necessary for the admonition of others to exhibit the true features and the practical bearings of his speculations. This is our apology for presenting so many instances of the miserable sophistry and atheistic hallucinations of the pamphlet under consideration.

It will be recollected that upon the opening of our remarks upon this atheistic pamphlet we stated that it came to us from the hand of a *young gentleman*. That such a gross specimen of cold-blooded and heartless infidelity should find its way into the hands of a student is a matter of no small concern to such as have the smallest interest in the moral character of the young men of our country. This class of persons are vastly more susceptible of injury from demoralizing theories than many are apt to imagine. Infidels, however, seem to be fully awake to the fact, and hence they adjust their machinery to their vulnerable and defenceless condition. By mature and disciplined minds the grossness of the sentiments and language of such a tract as the one under consideration would be nauseated and instantly repelled. But to the young, especially if there be a predisposition in favor of skeptical views, they present another aspect, and can scarcely come in contact with such minds without inflicting upon them the most fatal injury—without thoroughly vitiating their moral feelings, and ruining all their future prospects. Are the morals of our youth to be poisoned and ruined in this wise, and will we slumber? Connected with this pamphlet is “a catalogue of liberal works,” filling eight pages. Among these are the grossest productions of Robert Dale Owen and Frances Wright. Here, then, we have the influence of the honorable representative from the city of New-York lent to the sanction and circulation of some of the most demoralizing and disorganizing productions of this, or of any former age. If the object of the *liberalists* of our country should be answered, they would control the intelligence of the next generation. Indeed, those who hold in their hands the destinies of the country would be wholly alienated from both the religion of their fathers and the constitution and laws of their country. And what would be the result of such a change? What? Look at the history of infidel France, and there read in lines of blood the fate of the institutions inherited from our patriotic fathers. Give infidelity the control of the popular mind, and the glory of our country and institutions will soon have departed. Corrupt the minds of those who hold the elective franchise, and what security have we for the preservation of the civil compact?

And very much depends upon the very principle so strenuously opposed and so severely condemned by Mr. Herttell in the speech under consideration. If our laws are no longer to recognize the incongruity and danger of admitting an atheist to swear where the dearest interests are at stake, then what security can we have for our rights, liberty, and happiness? If the oath of a man who

denies "the existence of a supreme Being" is all our security, sure we are that it is sufficiently small.

We agree perfectly with the gentleman that an atheist, upon the principles of what he calls the test act, "could not be legally qualified to discharge the duties pertaining to the offices respectively." For there can be no more consistency in such a man's taking the oath of office than his swearing as a witness. What sense can there be in electing a man to an office, for his good faith in the exercise of which he is bound by law to give the security of an oath, when he is necessarily incompetent for such a ceremony.

For a man who denies *the existence of God* to be elected by *the people* to an office, for the faithful fulfillment of whose duties they require him to recognize the existence of the supreme Being, by a solemn promise of fidelity, as *in his presence*, is a gross inconsistency. What binding obligation can an oath have upon an atheist?

And to complete the climax of absurdity, we often elect such men to offices, the nature of whose duties requires that they should administer an oath to others! The honorable gentleman publicly denies the existence of a supreme Being, and perhaps on the Lord's day delivers a public lecture against the divine origin of the Holy Scriptures, and laughs to scorn all the doctrines of religion: and on Monday morning he gravely takes his seat in his office, and taking up his Bible he stretches it out to a witness, and says, "You do solemnly swear in the presence of almighty God, that the evidence you shall give in this case shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. *So help you God!*" Now supposing the witness to be ignorant of the true import of this formula, and to require the instructions of the court, what sort of an exposition would be given upon the occasion? The court would gravely ask the witness, "Do you know what is implied in an oath?" The witness would remain mute or answer in the negative. His honor proceeds: "You *swear in the presence of God*, but 'who knows' that there is such a being? Indeed, I don't believe it. You put your hand on this book because '*the people*' who formed the constitution and laws appropriated to it a sort of sacredness, but I tell you it is a mere fiction of fools! But now, sir, you are most solemnly bound to tell the truth! You have promised in the presence of that shadow or fiction of a crazy imagination they call God: and you have kissed this book of priestly legends—a book which scarcely deserves the title of 'a cunningly-devised fable.' These, you must understand, are all most solemn and appropriate forms to impress upon your conscience a strong sense of your



obligations to speak the truth. Now, Mr. Witness, if under these circumstances, you should violate your *conscience* and *swear* to a lie, then—O! then!!!”——In what an enviable attitude is our magistrate now placed!

It is almost a wonder that infidels have no *conscientious* scruples in relation to this business of *swearing*. They are often extremely sensitive in matters of *conscience*; but, alas! here the honors and emoluments of office are rather in the way of their wonted consistency, and the free and full development of that moral philosophy which is so characteristic of the fraternity! Indeed, they can swear, but they must not pray! And if any obstacles are thrown in their way in this matter by “statutory creeds,” “test acts,” and the like, their *consciences* are violated, and the *constitution* is shivered to atoms! They now appeal to heaven and earth for justice! Because they are not permitted to swear upon a book they condemn as a fable, and by a Being whose very existence they deny, lo! they are “disfranchised of their rights!” and for these they must never cease to contend while one drop of the blood of *the pilgrims* flows in their veins! “O consistency, thou art a jewel!”

It cannot, in fairness, be pretended that we call in question the veracity of unbelievers. We only deny the consistency of their being permitted to go through the solemnities of an oath according to the common form. Perhaps it is worth while to inquire whether some form of solemn affirmation could not be instituted which would suit the case. We recollect a case which will illustrate what we mean. An old soldier who, in the revolutionary war, deserted from the British army and joined that of General Washington, when peace was concluded, was sometimes found capable of petty thefts. On a certain occasion he was brought before a magistrate upon the charge of stealing a silver spoon. The old soldier steadily denied the charge, and the testimony seemed scarcely sufficient to convict him. But not being quite certain of his innocence, and yet quite ready to discharge him if he could consistently do so, the court finally concluded to allow him his oath. The old soldier accordingly most solemnly swore to his innocence. The court still doubting whether there might not be some error in the assertions of the accused, finally said: “Now, sir, if you will lift your hand and swear by the honor of a soldier that you did not steal the spoon, I will release you.” The prisoner dropped his head, and for a moment seemed thoughtful—and finally, putting his hand in his bosom, and drawing out the spoon, he dashed it on the floor, exclaiming, “Take your spoon,

for I'll not violate the honor of a soldier for all the spoons in America." Now, in this case, "the honor of a soldier" was a sacred and inviolable principle, while an oath proper was a matter of no importance. If, then, provision could be consistently made, that those who deny "the existence of a supreme Being, who will punish false swearing," might solemnly affirm *by the honor of an infidel*, perhaps all the ends of an oath might by this means be obtained. There seem to be but two difficulties in the way of such a provision in our civil code, and if these can be overcome, we pledge ourselves to use our little influence for the accomplishment of the object. The first is, to dispose of the fundamental principles of the constitution. The constitution, as we have seen, recognizes the existence and providence of God, whereas this provision would be a practical renunciation of that doctrine. The second is, the necessary security that *the honor of an infidel* would be sufficiently sacred to afford tolerable security for the truth. We should wish to be certain that it would, at least in general, be a principle of as much potency as was the honor of a soldier in the case which we have above related. The infidel philosopher can possibly help us over these barriers. The latter he will doubtless consider as having no existence except in our imagination, and the former will soon melt away before his immense powers of perception and reasoning.

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ART. II.—*A Grammar of the New Testament Dialect.* By M. STUART, Professor of Sacred Literature in the Theological Seminary at Andover. Second edition, corrected and mostly written anew. 8vo., pp. 308. Andover: Allen & Morrill. New-York: Dayton & Saxton.

THE wisdom of God is exhibited in the medium through which he has given his revealed will to man. To his peculiar people, the Jews, he first made known those great and important principles which were to regulate their conduct as individuals. This portion of his truth we consequently find imbodyed in the Hebrew language. But in after ages, in "the fullness of time," when his will was to be made known unto all the sons and daughters of Adam, his last revelation was given in the then almost universally diffused language of the Greeks. For in the time of the New Testament writers, the Greek was generally known throughout the Roman

empire, and was used most extensively in the eastern provinces. Cicero speaks of its prevalence, and Cesar asserts that it was spoken even in Gaul. The question as to its prevalence in Palestine is one of considerable importance, as the character of the style of the New Testament would, of course, depend upon the extent to which it was spoken. This point has been fully discussed, and though it may be that the Aramæan language was used, yet from the civil and political circumstances of the Jews, the Greek must have been in a measure prevalent among them.

The importance of an accurate knowledge of the original languages in which the Holy Scriptures were written, to him who aspires to be a correct interpreter of them, has been so often urged and insisted upon, that it seems hardly necessary for us to advert to it. We will, however, adduce some reasons why a just and discriminating view of the character of the New Testament dialect is important as a preliminary step to all further investigation. The whole system of correct interpretation must, of course, be founded upon the principles of grammar, but we must first rightly understand the nature of an idiom before we can deduce those principles which regulate its grammatical structure. Many mistakes which interpreters of the New Testament have made, have resulted from an ignorance of the distinctive peculiarities of its dialect. For how can it be expected that they should comprehend the great truths revealed if they proceeded upon a false view of the language in which those truths were embodied? Many passages, interpreted according to the rules of the classic Greek, would give meanings foreign to the intention of the sacred writer. Thus in John viii, 24: ἀποθανεῖσθε ἐν ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ὑμῶν, rendered according to the Greek idiom, would mean, *You will persevere to the end of life in sinning*; but according to the Hebrew, *You will be condemned on account of your sins*.\* Hence a distinguished Biblical critic well remarks: "Theology would have been freed from many errors that have crept in if Hebraisms had not been interpreted as pure Greek."†

On the other hand, there has been a disposition among some theologians to interpret the writers of the New Testament as though they were not subject to those common rules of grammatical accuracy observed by the classic Greek writers. This view introduced an almost unbounded license of interpretation, and prevented the science itself from becoming established. For in explaining the sacred writers, this class of interpreters acted on the assumption that the analogy and the general laws of the Greek

\* Stuart's Ernesti, § 131.

† Ibid., § 121.



language were frequently violated : that all anomalous expressions were to be considered as Hebraisms, or to be referred to want of education in the writer. It may readily be seen that such a system of procedure would give rise to many loose and imperfect views of the principles and doctrines of the Scriptures. It would have been well for such interpreters to have first inquired whether the passages they had under consideration could not be explained by a reference to the rules of Greek syntax and usage. They would then have found that many of the so called Hebraisms were phrases common to all cultivated languages, and frequently used by the classic Greek writers ; and they would have seen that their zeal in contending against the purity of the New Testament Greek had led them into unwarrantable hypotheses. For if the New Testament Greek be so different in its character from that of the classic writers, we might well ask, Where are the sources for its illustration ? What fixed and certain rules of interpretation can we have for a dialect so heterogeneous in its character ? But we often see that men in contending against one false theory are led to adopt another just as far removed from the truth. Never was this better exemplified than in the discussion as to the true nature of the New Testament dialect.

The reasons why its character was for so long a time misunderstood by Biblical philologists are very evident. They had not sufficiently investigated the history of the Greek language ; they had not followed it in the decline of its purity to its later usage, when it became more in consonance with the principles of general grammar. There are three epochs which distinctly mark the history of the Greek :—1. Its youth ; when Homer and Hesiod sung, and when Herodotus, the “father of history,” wrote. 2. Its palmy days ; marked by the writings of the great tragedians, Sophocles and Eschylus, and by the elegant prose of Zenophon and Plato. All of these wrote in the Attic dialect ; for Athens had become the fountain head of literature—and so great attention was paid to the cultivation of their language that it has been remarked, an Attic herb-woman could detect the provincial accent of a philosopher. 3. Its decline ; when Greece became subject to the dominion of Alexander, and the distinctions of dialect were lost in the general confusion of his conquests. Afterward, under the Roman yoke, when soldiers, collected from the different provinces, were dispersed throughout the empire, the language necessarily received many new terms and forms of expression, which would not have been tolerated by the critical taste of the Athenians. And thus was formed, what grammarians have called *η κοινή*

*διαλεκτος*, the common dialect, "a kind of speech mixed up from all the forms of the Greek idioms, and common to all those who spoke Greek in the later ages." The writers in this dialect are numerous. Among them we find Aristotle, Polybius, and Diodorus Siculus.

This, then, was the language prevalent in the time of our Saviour, and which was generally spoken, modified in accordance with the natural order of change, throughout the civilized world. Thus Alexandria, in Egypt, where Grecian literature was extensively cultivated, and which became the resort of learned men, gave rise to a peculiar dialect, called the *Alexandrine*, and by some the *Macedonian* dialect. Great numbers of Jews dwelt in this city; for Alexander allowed them the same privileges that he did the Macedonians, and, of course, they employed the language in common use. The Septuagint translation of the Old Testament, which was made for them 280 B. C., was in this dialect; though somewhat modified, from the nature of the subject, by idiomatic Hebrew expressions. This modification of the Alexandrine dialect, with still further changes, is used by the New Testament writers, and by some of the early Christian fathers. And it has been called the *Hellenistic*, or, more appropriately, the Hebrew Greek. Still the New Testament diction is greatly superior in purity to the Septuagint, not having so strong a Semitic coloring.

From about the close of the sixteenth century to the middle of the last there have existed, among Biblical scholars, two classes, holding opposite views as to the character of the New Testament Greek. One class asserted that it conformed in all respects to the style of the Attic writers; that it equalled their purity and elegance of diction. The principle they proceeded upon seemed to be, "that as God spoke to man in Greek, he could employ only the most pure and perfect Greek; and therefore the idiom of the New Testament must be accounted as one of the purest models of the Greek language."\* The other class maintained that it was far removed, in respect to the purity of its Greek, from the classic writers, and that it everywhere abounded in Hebraisms. The researches of later investigators have satisfactorily proved that neither of these positions was the correct one, and that both parties in the heat of controversy lost sight of the true nature of the idiom about which they were disputing. Our first Biblical scholars now unite in the opinion that it is "the later Greek as spoken by foreigners of the Hebrew stock, and applied by them to subjects on which it had never been employed by native Greeks." Such,

\* Dr. Robinson's Inaugural Address.

then, in brief, is the character of the dialect upon which the New Testament interpreter is occupied; and his first object should be to have a clear view of its peculiarities. These are divided into two classes, *lexical* and *grammatical*. Under the *lexical* peculiarities we find, 1. Words were chosen from all the dialects; 2. To words used in the old dialects, new and different significations were given; 3. Words seldom used by the classic writers, or only by the poets, were employed as common; 4. New forms, commonly lengthened, were given to words—and words altogether new were formed mostly by composition. The *grammatical* peculiarities of the New Testament diction consist principally in the *forms*; some appearing which were entirely unknown to the old writers, or, at least, foreign to the Attic dialect. These, however, are not numerous, for the history of language teaches us that changes in words are much more frequent than the introduction of new etymological forms. A language in the course of time may receive many new words, as well as give different significations to old ones, but it does not readily change its grammatical structure. This principle is illustrated by our Indian languages, all of which probably had a common origin. For we see in the midst of all their diversity, they have, in common, some general principles of etymology and syntax. Hence we find that the grammatical character of the New Testament diction does not differ greatly from that of the later Greek. The common laws of syntax are applied throughout, and there are seldom any departures from them: even some of the nicer forms of the classic Greek appear. The most important grammatical variations are in the use of the prepositions, a fact which calls for the critical investigation of interpreters. When, therefore, we consider the New Testament diction in its true light, when we see that the sacred writers not only conform to those general rules which arise from the nature of all human language, but also introduce many of the niceties of Greek syntax, we find there is little reason for the charge which has been urged against them of a want of grammatical accuracy. On this point Tittman well remarks,—“The sacred writers duly observe the laws of grammar; but not always the laws of the grammarians.”\*

There are some other circumstances which, in this connection, demand a passing notice. We refer to the peculiar character of the Hebrew people, as exhibited in their social relations as well as in their mental efforts. In all parts of the New Testament, Hebrew modes of thinking and feeling develop themselves, which

\* “On the grammatical accuracy of the writers of the New Testament.”—*Biblical Repository*, vol. i.



have a corresponding influence on its diction. We must also consider the subjects which employed the attention of the sacred writers. They were treating not of the absurd and fabulous legends of the Greek poets, but of the nature of the true God, the sublime and holy mysteries of the incarnation, and of the relations which man sustains both to his Maker and to his fellow man. We may, consequently, expect to find many Greek words used, from the religious views of the writers, in a technological sense, as *πίστις*, *ἀπόστολος*, *βάπτισμα*, and many others, particularly such as are employed by Paul in his epistles. This use of them was unavoidable, for the classic Greek could furnish no words which would exactly convey the ideas of a Hebrew on these subjects.

There is another circumstance in connection with the New Testament Greek which gives it a marked Hebrew character. The greater part of the quotations in the New Testament are from those prophecies which relate to the advent of Christ. And as these prophecies, which belong to the class of poetic compositions, occupied the attention of the New Testament writers, their style received a stronger Hebrew coloring. Hence we find that *parallelism*, the distinguishing characteristic of the poetry of the Old Testament, is in many instances to be found in the New. Indeed the whole arrangement of the periods is regulated according to the Hebrew verse, in a manner directly opposite to the roundness of the Greek. Our Lord's sermon on the mount, the songs in Luke, and some of the discourses of the apostles, display the characteristics of Hebrew poetry both in structure and diction. These are clearly exhibited in the Apocalypse of St. John : and all commentators have observed the striking resemblance there is between portions of it and the writings of the prophets, both as to imagery and illustration. In its conformance to the structure of Hebrew poetry it necessarily violates the strict rules of the Greek grammarians. Thus a distinguished critic remarks :—"The harshest Hebraisms which extend even to grammatical errors in the government of cases are the distinguishing marks of the book of Revelation ; but they are accompanied with tokens of genius and poetical enthusiasm, of which every reader must be sensible, who has taste and feeling : there is no translation of it which is not read with pleasure, even in the days of childhood ; and the very faults of grammar are so happily placed as to produce an agreeable effect."\* It is now generally acknowledged that, though the two Testaments are written in different languages, they resemble each other throughout. As the revealed truths of the New Testament

\* Marsh's Michaelis, vol. i.

illustrate the Old, so the language and structure of the Old sheds much light upon the interpretation of the New. Thus they are mutually illustrative of each other, as parts of His revelation, in all of whose works is seen unity of design.

If we consider the character of the New Testament, as well as the circumstances under which it was written, it will afford some further light as to the cause of its peculiarities of diction. The New Testament writers were all Jews; men into whose very natures was interwoven a deep reverence for their holy books—and who had attended only to the prominent features of Hebrew literature. All of them, if we except Paul, appear to have been entirely unacquainted with the literature of the Greeks: and even he was more deeply versed in the writings of his own nation, being “brought up at the feet of Gamaliel,” having a Jewish, and not a Grecian education. Therefore we cannot but expect to find in the New Testament a characteristic idiom; and an acquaintance with this is an important qualification of the interpreter who wishes to be “thoroughly furnished for his work.”

The means by which a knowledge of the New Testament dialect could be acquired have not hitherto been very ample. The advocates for the purity of its style supposed, of course, that the lexicons and grammars of the classic Greek were also suitable for this. But when their views were disproved, Biblical philologists began to investigate more critically its grammatical structure. As grammar is a science of observation, and as many individual facts have to be collected and classified, its progress is necessarily slow. In view of all this, it is gratifying to observe the improvements and discoveries which have been made, especially by the German philologists. Their labors and researches upon the classic Greek have had a great effect upon the general views of the grammatical structure of the New Testament. In the works which have appeared on the subject, we observe a progressive improvement, which leads us to expect that many important principles on this point will yet be developed; and that the grammar of the New Testament dialect will receive still greater accessions. Much has, however, been already accomplished: its character is now more generally understood, and the principles which govern its interpretation more clearly established.

The work we have placed at the head of this article is the latest that has appeared on the subject, and presents in a clear and concise view the researches of the German philologists. Its learned author is already favorably known to the public by his efforts to promote Biblical knowledge; and this work, if it adds nothing to

his well-deserved reputation, certainly will not detract from it. Our limits will not allow us to give an extended and critical notice of this volume. We shall, however, touch upon some of the most prominent points of interest to the New Testament interpreter. In the introduction our author presents us with his views of the character of the New Testament dialect, which correspond with those now generally held by Biblical philologists. He has explained at length the peculiarities of this dialect, and, at the same time, clearly developed the causes which gave rise to them. But as we have already sufficiently alluded to this subject, we pass on to notice, as a point of some importance, his observations on the nature and use of the accents. We could not expect that he would present the subject in all its details, and indeed such a course would be inappropriate for a work of this nature. He has, however, brought forward, and placed in a clear light, the few general and important principles.

The written accentuation of the New Testament is designed to be conformed to the common laws of the Greek. This grammatical notation of the accents appears to have been marked about B. C. 200. Its age in the New Testament, however, cannot be determined with certainty. Possibly as early as the fourth century; for we find at this time mention made of the Septuagint as furnished with various kinds of accents. Heretofore it has been too much with the system of Greek accentuation as with the Hebrew, that interpreters of the Bible have supposed a knowledge of their minutiae to be unimportant. Though the system is not yet settled in all its details, and many points are still under dispute, yet a knowledge of it is serviceable to the learner, if not to the advanced scholar, from the fact that many words are distinguished from each other solely by the accent; as, *εἰμι* I am, *εἶμι* I go; *τίς* who? *τίς* or *τις* some one; *ὁ* the, *ὅ* which, &c. Other questions as to the criticism of the sacred text depend upon principles of accentuation which have not, as yet, been fully settled. Let no one, then, suppose that a knowledge of the system is unimportant or superfluous. Still, after all that has been written of the subject, there are many things connected with the system of Greek accentuation which need further investigation.

To the vowel and consonant changes our author appears to have devoted considerable attention. We find among the Greek writers many of these changes made in accordance with their views of euphony. The cultivation which they bestowed upon their language, the degree of refinement to which their criticism was carried, produced a system of vowel and consonant changes which has



rendered the Greek language so highly musical. The delicate ear of the Greek could not bear that harshness which arises from the coming together of certain consonants. And we are to look to this as the source of many changes which this class of letters undergo. The whole subject is so closely connected with the different forms which words receive in the course of declension, and more especially in composition, that it demands the careful study of all who would understand the laws of Greek usage on these points. Our limits will not permit us to dwell upon the pages which our author has devoted to the etymology or grammatical forms of the Greek. The different classes of anomalies are distinctly marked, and the New Testament usage particularly observed.

The larger portion of this volume is devoted to the most important division of grammar, viz., syntax. The time has gone by when it was supposed that all its principles could be unfolded in the compass of a few pages. The great advances which have been made in developing the internal structure of language, the brilliant discoveries which have rewarded the diligence of the classical scholar, all demand that in a grammatical work the greatest stress should be laid upon its syntax.

The important place the *article* occupies in the Greek requires that its syntax be critically investigated. And in this instance it is more important, since so much has been made, in a theological point of view, of the use of the article. Some Biblical scholars have attempted to establish the principle, that, independent of the common laws of syntax, the Greek article was subject to some particular rules. This point has been deemed of so much importance that it was used for the purpose of proving the *divinity* of Christ. The subject, however, needs further illustration, and much remains to be done before satisfactory light will be cast upon it. We cannot quit the subject without, in the language of our author, though in another work,\* “cautioning the young interpreter not to lay much stress on the presence or absence of the Greek article in his reasonings of a philological or theological nature. The ground is yet too slippery, and too imperfectly surveyed. There is scarcely a rule laid down for the article which does not admit of numerous exceptions; and in very many, if not most cases, it seems to have been a matter quite at the writer's pleasure whether he inserted or omitted it. How can we hazard the proof of an important theological doctrine, then, upon such ground as this?” We have alluded to this point both on account of the importance which has been attached to it, and from a con-

\* Biblical Repository, vol. i, p. 173.

viction that many have been misled as to the correct application of the article, from an Essay on the subject by a learned classical scholar,\* which appears in Dr. Clarke's Commentary. The writer having a favorite theory to sustain, very slightly alludes to those exceptions which would militate against his position. Viewing the subject in all its bearings, we cannot but regret that it has given so much occasion for false argument and unsound criticism. The interpreter who makes his appeal to the Scriptures in the original should not confide in any such unsettled and fallacious rules.

Under the syntax of the noun our author has very clearly illustrated the nature and meaning of *case*. This subject of late years has been fully discussed by philologists. Our author has presented us with their results. The various relations of nouns are philosophically developed, and he has especially succeeded in making plain the relations of cases after prepositions. Those departures from the classical usage which cause the peculiarities of the New Testament Greek are noticed.

We will briefly notice the view our author has taken of the force of *θεον, κυριον, &c.*, when in connection with other nouns. It has been held generally by grammarians, that such expressions have merely the force of superlatives. Thus in Col. ii, 19, *αἰξῆσιν τοῦ θεοῦ*, has been interpreted to mean *the greatest increase*; in 2 Cor. i, 12, *ἐν ἀπλοτητι καὶ εὐλικρινείᾳ θεοῦ*, has been rendered *perfect uprightness and sincerity*. It was also a principle laid down by Haub that *Χριστος*, when joined to another word, serves only to denote intensity; thus in 2 Cor. xi, 10, *ἀληθεια Χριστου* was rendered *undoubted truth*. This idiom was thought to have been derived from the Hebrew mode of expressing an intense form of the adjective by placing the noun in connection with one of the appellations of the Deity. It is a question, however, whether all the instances of the so-called superlatives in the New Testament are not capable of solution in another way. Col. ii, 19, may better be considered as *an increase, of which God is the author*. 2 Cor. i, 12, is more properly rendered, *that uprightness and sincerity*

\* H. S. Boyd, who commences his Essay in such a confident tone as this: "It has now been completely proved and irrefragably established by the labors of learned men, that, independently of the common laws of syntax, the Greek prepositive article is governed by a very remarkable rule, to which it is universally subjected." Granville Sharp and Bishop Middleton were the first who brought this subject before the public. Their reputation as scholars, and the quotations by which they seemed to fortify their position, gave it an importance it could not otherwise have obtained.

*which is pleasing to God* ; or which springs from his work in the heart. In accordance with the rule hitherto observed, the passage in Acts vii, 20, speaking of Moses as ἀστέιος τῷ θεῷ, has been translated *exceeding fair* ; but both the Arabic and Syriac versions render it, *beloved of God*, and thus confirm the principle advanced by our author.

As in every language the verb is the most important element of speech, so its elucidation is generally attended with the greatest number of difficulties ; and this is especially the case in the Greek. In a language so highly cultivated, the verbal forms present a very artificial arrangement. It is important for a correct knowledge of the language, that the different relations which the verb sustains to the sentence be clearly exhibited. The relations of time are expressed in Greek in so many different ways, and there is such a frequent interchange of the tenses, that the interpreter of the New Testament needs an accurate and critical knowledge of the whole subject. For many forced and unsound interpretations have resulted from ignorance of the right use of the tenses. On these points our author has displayed his characteristic diligence, and the labor he has bestowed upon them will be appreciated by the Biblical scholar.

From the importance of the Greek particles we cannot close this brief notice of the work before us without alluding to our author's view of their explication and use. Certainly great importance should be attached to the meaning of the particles, and we should never consider them as redundant. Indeed, "the whole connection of a writer's thoughts, the method of his logic, the force of his argument or illustration, depend oftentimes on the manner in which the particles of the Greek language are rendered." Prepositions occupy an important place in all languages. They serve to denote the various relations of nouns, and, in many instances, they essentially modify the meaning of the verb. A knowledge, then, of the nature and use of the Greek prepositions is of great importance in an exegetical point of view. Look at the controversy which has been for so long a time carried on as to the proper mode of baptism. It has been asserted that the prepositions which are used in connection with βαπτίζω necessarily make it mean *immerse*. This is not the place to enter into the merits of this controversy, nor is there need of it, for the subject has already been fully investigated.\* There is another consideration connected with

\* It is clearly, though briefly, set forth in "Hibbard on Baptism." The argument derived from the use of the prepositions, though not satisfactory on either side, is shown to be against immersion.



the use of the prepositions which has been too much neglected. We refer to their composition with verbs. Our author has devoted the proper attention to these. The whole subject has hitherto been but little noticed; yet when we consider that some of the grammatical peculiarities of the New Testament dialect consist in the use of the prepositions, it will appear that the critical study of them is an object of great importance to the Biblical student.

Believing that this work is calculated greatly to facilitate the study of the New Testament in the original, we commend it to the attention of all who would qualify themselves, in the best way, to understand the import of God's revealed will.

*New-York.*

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ART. III.—*Lectures on Biblical Criticism, exhibiting a systematic View of that Science.* By SAMUEL DAVIDSON, LL.D., Professor of Biblical Literature in the Royal Academical Institution, Belfast. 8vo. Edinburgh. 1839.

PREVIOUSLY to the era of the Reformation little had been accomplished toward the emendation of the text of the New Testament. The labors of Hesychius and Lucian, in the third century, do not appear to have been favorably received; nor their recensions to have obtained any very general circulation. For the correctness of this statement we refer to the testimony of Jerome. Neither is it probable that Origen, who did so much to amend the text of the Old Testament, labored also in this field. The text, therefore, was handed down through every form and variety of manuscript, attracting comparatively little critical attention, until the revival of letters, and the dawn of Protestantism, led men to think for themselves, and especially to examine the original records of Christianity. The thirst for knowledge was at first partially satisfied with the reproduction of the standard works of classical authors, but after a while Biblical literature received its due share of attention. A well-known name stands first in order of time among Biblical critics. Erasmus, with that ingenuous love of truth which seeks satisfaction in original investigation, was led to the study of the Greek of the New Testament. This was to have been expected. A true scholar, like Erasmus, whatever value he might attach to the Latin version of Jerome, then as now, as is well known, the authorized version of the Roman Church, would seek for an intimate acquaintance with the original

text. In this study, the first thing which claimed his attention was, Did the text give "the original words written by the inspired authors?" To satisfy himself on this point, he had recourse to such manuscripts as he could readily obtain, collating them, and deciding upon the various readings with that critical sagacity for which he was so eminently distinguished. In 1516 his edition of the Greek Testament made its appearance. The art of printing had not before this time been applied to any extent to the propagation of the word of God in the original language, "although there already existed several impressions of the Latin and also of the German Bible." Some small portions only of the Greek had then been printed.\* It was reserved for Erasmus to give, through this almost divine invention, wings to truth, as the first editor of a complete printed edition of the original language of the New Testament. In the following year, from a novel and unexpected quarter, owing to the intelligent countenance of a most distinguished statesman, Cardinal Ximenes, the Complutensian Polyglot was completed, but not published until the year 1517. Thus almost simultaneously two different editions of the Greek Testament, without concert, and from very different sources, fixed their indelible impress upon the literary character of the age.

It is not to be supposed, however, that at this early period the materials of Biblical criticism were very numerous, or that the principles of the science were clearly defined and established. On the contrary, both Erasmus and the editors of the Complutensian Polyglot had access to but few manuscripts; and such as they had, they examined without reference to priority of time, or the superior value of one codex to another. Manuscript copies of the Old and New Testament did not then form a separate branch of study for the Biblical critic—the grand line of demarkation between ancient and modern copies had not then been so clearly drawn—the peculiarities of each had not then been detailed with that minute accuracy, that acute and sound discrimination, which has pretty satisfactorily affixed the relative value to the most important of these rare and valuable memorials of antiquity, and depositories of divine truth. The critic was left chiefly to the exercise of his own skill in the solution of various readings, without any settled data as a clew to guide him through the difficult labyrinth. Under these disadvantages did these critical scholars commence the cultivation

\* In the year 1504 Aldus edited the first six chapters of John's Gospel. Before this time there probably existed nothing of the New Testament but Mary's song of praise, Luke i, 42-56, and Zachariah's, Luke i, 68-80.—*Hug's Introduction to New Testament*, p. 180.

of this untrodden field. Still, with all these disadvantages, the edition of the Greek text by Erasmus, and the one contained in the Spanish Polyglot, (vol. v.) or Bible of Alcala, form, in fact, the foundation of the *textus receptus* of the New Testament of the present day.

As this is a subject of peculiar interest and importance, we will dwell upon it a little longer. In the city library of Basil are still found two MSS., one containing the Gospels, the other, the Acts and the Epistles, with corrections in the handwriting of Erasmus. These MSS., according to Hug, are marked, Codex Basil, b. vi, 25, (this contains the Gospels,) and Codex Basil ix, (this contains the Acts and Epistles.) These two MSS., the Codices Basileenses,\* as they are termed by Michaelis, were the basis of Erasmus's edition. The antiquity of the above Basil MSS. is not well ascertained. Wetstein places them in the tenth century. Griesbach assents to this opinion. As to the Apocalypse, Erasmus had but a solitary manuscript; and this was imperfect. In those places where the letters were faded and illegible, he supplied the deficiency by translating the Latin into Greek. It is due, however, to this scholar to say, that after the publication of the Complutensian Polyglot, he corrected his edition of 1527 by it, and especially the Apocalypse. In addition to the two principal Greek codices at Basil, there were also a few others in the library of the same city, (marked, Basil, vi, 17, and Basil, b. x, 20,) together with some Latin MSS., which Erasmus examined and collated. He, however, in his first edition, in all likelihood, chiefly followed the text of the two principal manuscripts, as the term of five months which he gave to this work was too short to admit of thorough collation and examination. In his subsequent editions (and he published five in his lifetime) he had time and opportunity, as well as increasing facilities and experience, to amend and improve his important work. After his death, numerous editions in different countries were published, chiefly, however, (with the exception of Robert Stephens's,) reprints of the original work. Erasmus printed his first edition, as we have seen, in 1516, his last in 1535.

The Greek text of the New Testament in the Alcala Bible, or Complutensian Polyglot, was taken from a MS. sent from the

\* These are to be distinguished from the Codex Basileensis, b. vi, 21, noted by Dr. Mill, b. i, by Bengel, Bos *e*, by Wetstein and Griesbach, E. This MS. was not used by Erasmus; but was collated by Samuel Battier for Dr. Mill; by Iselin, for Bengel; and by Wetstein.—*Horne*, vol. ii, p. 104. Hug describes it at length; places it in the eighth century, giving for this very sufficient reasons.



Vatican Library at Rome for this purpose. This MS. was extolled at the time for its antiquity; but upon investigation it has been found that in those places where the text in modern Greek MSS. differs from ancient Greek MSS., the Complutensian Greek Testament invariably follows the more modern instead of the more ancient copies.\* This evidence is regarded, and justly so, as conclusive, "that the Complutensian text was formed from modern MSS. alone." The most ancient and valuable of all MSS., the Codex Vaticanus, was not used in the preparation of this edition. From this survey, it must be allowed, that whatever critical value we attach to the two earliest editions of the New Testament, and, consequently, to the *textus receptus* mainly founded upon them, yet the amount of critical apparatus used in amending and settling the text was small in itself, as well as of inferior value to that which was afterward discovered; while, at the same time, as has been before observed, those critical canons by which the age and value of MSS. should be tested had not then been elucidated and defined. From what has been said, the almost superstitious reverence which has been thrown around the usual text will at once appear. Can we, under the circumstances, regard it as infallibly correct? Ought we to look with distrust upon critical emendations? On the contrary, does not the case call for critical scrutiny? While an intelligent candor and a spirit of inquiry should admit this, at the same time it is a source of deep satisfaction, as well as of devout acknowledgment to almighty God, that important variations in the text of the New Testament are comparatively few in number—that they, in numerous instances, are mistakes of caligraphy easily rectified, and that, to use the language of another, "although a number of mistakes have been committed by careless copyists, as well as by careless printers, not one *essential truth* of God has been *injured* or *suppressed*. In this respect, all is *perfect*; and the way of the Most High is made so plain, even in the poorest copies, that the wayfaring man, though a fool, utterly destitute of deep learning and critical abilities, need not err therein."†

\* Bishop Marsh's Divinity Lectures, part i, p. 95.

† Dr. A. Clarke's Introduction to the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles.

On this subject, from the same source, we append the following additional remarks:—"All the *omissions* of the ancient *manuscripts* put together would not countenance the *omission* of one *essential doctrine* of the gospel, relative to *faith* or *morals*; and all the *additions* countenanced by the whole mass of MSS. already collated, do not introduce a single point *essential* either to *faith* or *manners*, beyond what may be found in the most imperfect editions, from

We will advert to but one point more in reference to the two earliest editions of the Greek Testament. This relates to the omission, on the part of Erasmus, of the well-known passage of 1 John v, 7, in his first and second editions, and the insertion of the same passage in the Alcala Bible. This occasioned a discussion between Erasmus and Stunica, the most distinguished of the Complutensian editors. The Rotterdam scholar challenged his opponent to show the passage in any Greek MS., engaging, if he did so, to insert it. This at the time he could not do. But, after a while the disputed passage was discovered in the Codex Britannicus, a codex "written about the fourteenth century,"\* and of no great value.† Having afterward been found in one, though but one Greek manuscript,‡ in compliance with his promise, Erasmus inserted the passage in his third edition, writing on the margin the words, "To avoid calumny."

In connection, by the way, with the allusion just made to this much-disputed passage, we may observe, that Mr. Davidson adduces the evidence for and against its genuineness, putting it in the power of the reader to weigh for himself the testimony in the case. From an ample, and, at the same time, minute summary of the evidence thus impartially presented, the reader will most probably infer that the passage is spurious. The weight of authority altogether inclines the scale this way, as the passage is not actually found in any Greek MSS., until at least the fourteenth century, and in but two of this modern date. To this it may be added, that the passage is not once quoted by any Greek father of the church, and not even fully and unequivocally by Cyprian, Tertullian, and other Latin fathers.§ It is true, it is contained in the Vulgate, yet it is not found "in the most ancient MSS." of this version itself. But the reader is referred to Mr. Davidson's work

the Complutensian editors down to the Elzevirs. And though for the *beauty*, *emphasis*, and *critical* perfection of the *letter* of the New Testament, a *new edition* of the Greek Testament is greatly to be desired; yet from such a one *infidelity* can expect no help; *false doctrine* no support; and even *true religion* no accession to its excellence; though a few *beams* may be thus added to its lustre."

\* Hug's Introduction to the New Testament, p. 182. Hug assigns a greater age to this codex than either Bishop Marsh or Griesbach.

† This is the same as Codex Montfortianus or Montfortii. It is also called Dublinensis; and is the sixty-first of Griesbach. Archbishop Usher presented it to Trinity College, Dublin, in whose library it is preserved.

‡ This passage is also found in the Codex Ottobonianus.

§ Davidson's Biblical Criticism, p. 133.

for a full and explicit statement of the argument respecting the spuriousness or authenticity of this celebrated passage.\*

But to proceed with our main topic. The text of Alcala and of Erasmus formed, as we have seen, a general basis for future editions. In many instances, either the one or the other was literally copied. But in the edition printed at Paris by Robert Stephens, in the year 1546, additional MSS. were collated, and the various readings noted in the margin. Theodore Beza, also, the pupil and successor of Calvin in the Geneva church, (though Calvin transmitted not to his hands the same absolute ecclesiastical authority as he himself had possessed,) collated for his edition the valuable codex now in the library of Cambridge University, (known as Codex Beza or Cantabrigiensis,) comparing, at the same time, the text with an Arabic and a Syriac version, these versions having happily fallen into his possession. Beza's critical labors, as well as Stephens's, were not without their results. Hug says of Beza, that he "gave a new character to the text." Not satisfied with marking his new readings on the margin, "he frequently inserted them," says Michaelis, "in the text." This is, we suppose, what Hug means when he says, Beza gave a new character to the text; and as the first Elzevir edition was printed from Beza's text, and as the Elzevir edition has served as a model for all succeeding imprints, hence, Hug calls Theodore Beza "the real author of the *textus receptus*." But as Bishop Marsh justly observes—in effect, if not in so many words—this praise is due in fact to the Alcala and Erasmian editions, these forming the foundation of all the rest.†

\* We give this passage as it is in the received text, the Vulgate, and in Griesbach's edition. Ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες [ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ὁ Πατήρ, ὁ Λόγος, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα· καὶ οὗτοι οἱ τρεῖς ἓν εἰσι καὶ τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῇ γῇ] τὸ πνεῦμα, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ τὸ αἷμα· καὶ τρεῖς τὸ ἓν εἰσιν. The text in the Complutensian edition differs slightly from the above. The chief omission is the last clause of the eighth verse. Thus much for the received text. The Vulgate reads thus:—Ver. 7. "Quoniam tresunt, qui testimonium dant in coelo: pater verbum, Et Spiritus Sanctus: et hi tres unum sunt. 8. Et tres sunt, qui testimonium dant in terra: Spiritus, et aqua, et sanguis: et hi tres unum sunt." Griesbach, omitting the part included in brackets in the received text, reads the verse as follows:—Ver. 7. Ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες· τὸ πνεῦμα, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ τὸ αἷμα· καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἓν εἰσιν.

† The following are Bishop Marsh's own words:—"The person who conducted the Elzevir edition (for Elzevir was only the printer) is at present unknown; but, whoever he was, his critical exertions were confined within a narrow compass. The text of this edition was copied from Beza's text, except in about fifty places; and in those places the readings were borrowed



We now approach the dawn of a new era in Biblical criticism. The London Polyglot was the herald of this new era ; for the text of the New Testament in the Paris Polyglot, previously published, was not especially distinguishable from the editions which preceded it. But Bishop Walton in preparing the text of the New Testament for the London Polyglot had the aid of the celebrated Alexandrine MS.,\* (codex a,) and, under the text, introduced some of its readings. The numerous readings disclosed by this work (we speak now especially of the New Testament) "disturbed," it is said, "the minds of many." To remove these fears, Dr. Fell, bishop of Oxford, engaged deeply and extensively in the work of collation, printing the various readings *under* the text, thus giving at a glance ocular demonstration of the general unimpeachable integrity of the text. But chiefly is the science of Biblical criticism indebted to the venerable bishop from the circumstance "that he incited Mill to employ his talents upon the New Testament, constantly animated his perseverance and energy, and afforded him his own efficient aid ; that he did all that was in his power to cast his own work into the back-ground, and to cause himself to be surpassed by another, that science might be the gainer." The publication of this indefatigable critic's edition of the New Testament in the year 1707, after the labor of thirty years, "gave rise" indeed "to a new and better era in criticism." The general canon introduced by Mill into the science of Biblical criticism as applied to the original text of the New Testament, and which he deduced from his close study and intimate acquaintance with MSS., was simple in itself, and such as one would think would readily present itself to the mind. It was to give to a various reading the greater or the less authority not so much in proportion to the number of manuscripts in which it was contained, as to the antiquity and intrinsic excellence of different manuscripts. Even Mill himself, in the commencement of his critical labors, had not adopted this rule as

partly from the various readings in Stephens's margin, partly from other editions, but certainly not from Greek MSS. The *textus receptus*, therefore, or the text in common use, was copied, with a few exceptions, from the text of Beza. Beza himself closely followed Stephens ; and Stephens (namely, in his third and chief edition) copied solely from the fifth edition of Erasmus, except in the Revelation, where he followed sometimes Erasmus, sometimes the Complutensian edition. The text therefore in daily use resolves itself at last into the Complutensian and the Erasmusian editions."—*Bishop Marsh's Lectures*, part i, p. 110.

\* "A fac-simile of this codex has been published, with types cast for the purpose, line for line, without intervals between the words, precisely as in the original."—*Horne*, vol. ii, p. 77.

a guide. With his predecessors, according to Bengelius, he "at first formed his judgment upon the numbers rather than the merits of the MSS." So slow is the progress of real knowledge; and with so much difficulty do we attain important truths. Yet these truths once attained, we are often surprised that they were not discovered before, so essential do they seem of themselves, and so simple and easy of attainment. Mill, having at length found one general rule, so just in itself, and its application of so great importance in ascertaining and fixing the text, at once found that it involved a new branch of knowledge. This was not merely the collation of readings, but the examination of manuscript as such. The peculiarities of different manuscripts now underwent the most rigid scrutiny. All those marks which indicate the age of MSS., (of which a general and leading one, among various others, is, those written before the invention of stichometry by Euthalius, and those after,) the greater or the less accuracy with which they are written, and the place and country whence they originated, were now described; and each codex accordingly classed. The places also where MSS. were deposited were mentioned, and also the numbers which designated them in particular libraries. Over and above all this, Mill, says Hug, "not only collated them here and there, but in general made a continued collation of them from beginning to end."

The materials of Biblical criticism had also at this time greatly accumulated. Mill made diligent use of all the treasures of the science within his reach. Numerous were the MSS. he himself collated. He examined also "nearly all the ancient versions, and the citations of the fathers of the church." Not satisfied with this, he "procured the collation of foreign MSS. by the hands of others." He himself, by his familiarity with MSS., became eminently fitted to judge of their merits, "having acquired a peculiar sagacity in detecting additions, interpolations, and suspicious alterations, by which his decision was often happily directed." Thus through the rare and commendable diligence of one man—by the critical sagacity which he displayed—was a deep and broad foundation laid for the study of Biblical criticism. The student had not now merely the marginal readings to consult, he was not left to reap simply the effects of the labors of others, ignorant of the ground on which their decision was based, but he was directed to the sources of all these readings; he was made acquainted with the general rule or principle by which the value of different readings was tested; and could himself form, if not from the personal inspection of manuscripts, from the very minute and exact specification of the

peculiarities of all and each, a judgment of his own respecting their various degrees of excellence and importance. Here there was certainly a perceptible advancement in the science. With great justice, therefore, may Michaelis say that "Dr. Mill has acquired lasting honor by his edition of the New Testament as long as the words of Christ and his apostles are revered by men of learning and sense."

We proceed to another development of the science, which deserves notice, rather for the ingenuity and talent which it has elicited, and the labor which has been bestowed upon it, than for its solidity. We refer to the classification of Greek MSS. This new arrangement of manuscript, strictly speaking, commenced with Griesbach, though Bengel, "the first of the Germans who gained honor in this department of learning," first "faintly perceived" the idea, afterward so fully developed by Griesbach, and on which his critical system was built. Griesbach, following Bengel's original suggestion, discovered, or thought he discovered, "certain characteristics continuing tolerably alike throughout," belonging to certain MSS., and as these peculiarities prevailed, he classed or arranged them under three general heads, the Alexandrine, Occidental, and Byzantine, or Constantinopolitan recensions. The name of the Alexandrine betokens its origin, and the particular region where it circulated. The Western circulated more especially in Africa, Gaul, Italy, and indeed through the west of Europe. The Byzantine was chiefly used at Constantinople and the neighboring provinces. The readings peculiar to the Alexandrine recension are found, as Griesbach thinks, in the quotations of the early fathers of the Alexandrine church, especially Origen and Clement. So strongly marked did he imagine these to be that he represented the quotations of these fathers "as exhibiting a text differing in its whole habit and its entire coloring" from the quotations of Tertullian and Cyprian, taken, as this critic supposed, from the Occidental recension. Matthæi in Germany, and Archbishop Laurence in England, both objected to the distinction; and the latter especially showed not only that the statement was exaggerated, "but that it was the very reverse of the truth:"\* Archbishop Laurence made it appear by actual collation and comparison in numerous instances, not only that there was no material variation in the quotations of the Alexandrine and Western fathers, but that those of Clement and Origen actually bore a nearer resemblance to those of Tertullian and Cyprian, "than they did with those of the later Alexandrine fathers, Athanasius and Cyril."†

\* Ed. Rev., 1840.

† Ibid.



This was so evident that in an examination of two hundred and twenty-six quotations of Origen "one hundred and eighteen were found to be supported by Western authority alone, ninety by both Western and Alexandrine, and only eighteen by Alexandrine alone."\* A conclusion based on such ground as this could not but seriously affect a most important part of Griesbach's ingenious but really fanciful theory; a theory which, though adopted at one time by Eichorn, was afterward relinquished by him as untenable, he himself pronouncing "the existence of two very early recensions, an Alexandrine and a Western, to be a dream unsupported by history."†

Hug, feeling the force of the objections to Griesbach's system, proposed a modification of it. It consisted in this:—He gave up the idea of any recension at the early period specified by Griesbach, substituting in its place one general text, called by him *κοινή εκδοσις*, universally adopted, and spread abroad in all directions. This having become much corrupted, he supposes that Hesychius, Lucian, and Origen, prepared three distinct, independent recensions. That of Hesychius, circulating in Egypt, corresponded to the Alexandrine and Occidental recensions; (Hug yielding to the argument of Archbishop Laurence that there existed no material difference between the Western and Alexandrine recensions;) that of Lucian circulating northward, and corresponding to the Byzantine of Griesbach; while that of Origen was generally received in Palestine. This last, the Palestine edition, is regarded as an "excrescence" in Hug's system, there existing no good evidence of Origen's critical labors extending to the text of the New Testament. Setting aside, then, the Palestine recension, we have, according to Hug's theory, two manuscript recensions of the text of the New Testament, the Alexandrine and the Byzantine, springing from an emendation of the common text in the latter part of the third century, through the labors of Hesychius and Lucian. These editions, in their several fields of circulation, Hug supposes obtained such general, and indeed universal currency, as to supersede the common text, the *κοινή εκδοσις*. While, therefore, Hug agrees with Griesbach in the main as to the classification of Greek MSS., he differs with him chiefly as to the time when the recensions were made. The solidity, then, of Hug's system, as well as Griesbach's, depends upon his classification. So far, then, as "his classification is erroneous, is the critical system to which it led him." As this is still debateable ground, his critical deductions, so far as they are based upon his system, will be regarded either

\* Ed. Rev., 1840.

† Vol. iv, p. 273.

as sound or fallacious, according to the estimation in which the system itself is held. To discuss the merits of the system is not our present object, except so far as a general opinion may be given on the whole subject. This will appear, as far as it is proper for us to give it, before we close our remarks on the text of the New Testament. We will now notice what has been called the rival system of Scholz and Rink.

The system of Scholz, to a considerable extent, is opposed to that of Hug. While he "adopts, in a great measure, the statements made by Hug respecting the *κοινὴ ἐκδοσις*," he thinks that the Alexandrine recension "possessed no such authority as to cause it to supersede the unrevised text;" that it was, "in fact, nothing more than a variety of the *κοινὴ ἐκδοσις*." It may have met with greater acceptance than any other single variety of it; but the copies which conformed to it were probably a very small part of the copies transcribed after it was made.\* Weakening thus the authority of the Alexandrine recension, Scholz has something in reserve. He would build the text upon the Byzantine or Constantinopolitan MSS., a class of MSS. remarkable for the uniformity of its text, and which, as is thought, at least by some, from plainly marked peculiarities or characteristics, "constitute a family, or recension, essentially distinguished from the Alexandrine." Scholz thus reduces all MSS. of the text to two great families, the Alexandrine and the Constantinopolitan—differing from Griesbach in giving a decided preference to the Constantinopolitan text (though the younger of the two, which we acknowledge does not necessarily make against its superior authority) before the Alexandrine. The preference, however, which Scholz and also Matthæi give to the Constantinopolitan text, is not supposed to rest on a sufficiently solid foundation. Griesbach prefers the Alexandrine; as does also Mr. Davidson. The Edinburgh Review, so often alluded to by us, (and the unknown writer is as candid, close, and comprehensive a critic, as he is thoroughly conversant with this intricate branch of Biblical science,) says, "That with respect to the

\* Ed. Rev., Oct., 1840. On this point, from the same source, we add the following remarks:—"That the recension of Hesychius did not supersede the *κοινὴ ἐκδοσις*, even in Alexandria, is at once apparent from an undeniable fact. The stichometrical division of the text was invented at Alexandria by Euthalius, in the latter half of the fifth century, and, of course, long posterior to the time of Hesychius; yet the principal MSS. of the *κοινὴ ἐκδοσις*, which are known to us, the Cambridge, Laudian, and Clermont ones, are all stichometrically arranged; and so, too, was that from which the Boernerian MS., another of the same class, was copied, as Hug himself has remarked."

Constantinopolitan MSS. we do not think that Scholz has established his position."

Amid such conflicting opinions on the subject of classification, requiring, as the system does, "a very delicate acumen to perceive more than two great classes, and, after all, leaving a good deal to the imagination,"\* it is not surprising that with many the whole theory of classification is falling into disrepute; so much so, indeed, that Davidson remarks, that "we would not much marvel if the prevailing sentiments on this subject be in a few years those now entertained by Dr. Lee and Mr. Penn, who have spoken of it as one of speculation, or rather of nihility. Its intricacy and obscurity may afterward lead the majority of critics to cast it aside as unworthy of their sober regard. The classes are so much blended, that it becomes a matter of difficulty to disentangle them in particular instances. Hence its subtilty and minuteness may lead scholars to view it as utterly futile. There is a presumption in favor of such a result."†

As to Griesbach's original system of classification, such has already been the result. On this point the *Edinburgh Review* thus speaks:—"Many of the corrections which Griesbach made in the text were, no doubt, sound; they were such as any critical editor must have made; but a large proportion of them were of a different description; the sole ground for them was his theory of recensions. These corrections must now be considered as having lost all their authority; and as Griesbach made no distinction between them and the others, his decision, that a reading is right or wrong, can no longer be relied on. We must look to his authorities, and draw our own conclusion in each particular case."‡

Should the views of Dr. Lee prevail—and so far as we are prepared to express an opinion on the subject they form the most substantial foundation for real advancement in Biblical criticism—the genuineness of a reading would depend not upon "the authority of the most ancient MS.," that is, the Alexandrine; not upon "a preference given to the Constantinopolitan text;" but upon "the critical goodness of rival readings"—a method of criticism "particularly requiring sound judgment and nice tact." Here our limits, and the course we have marked out for ourselves in the present article, require us to conclude this portion of our subject. We pass now to notice, briefly, the state of the Hebrew text.

In the criticism of the Old and the New Testament, a marked difference (according to some) is to be observed in the mode of ascertaining and establishing the genuine text. In the former case,

\* Davidson, p. 237.

† See p. 239.

‡ *Ed. Rev.*, Oct., 1840.



the sources whence a correct text is to be obtained are manuscript versions and quotations from the fathers. This authority is paramount. The internal probability of one reading rather than another is only taken into account when it is at the same time accompanied with at least an equal amount of external authority. The evidence, "the goodness and number of MSS.," is all and in all. Conjectural criticism is rarely, if ever, allowed. But when the text of the Old Testament is taken into consideration, instances occur where the very *exigency* of the case requires the aid to be derived from conjecture. The following instance will illustrate this point:—"In 1 Chron. vi, 28, the sons of Samuel are said to be 'the first-born, and the second, and Abiah;' we merely substitute for the Hebrew word יֶשׁוּי its English equivalent. This Hebrew word is quite as unlikely to be a proper name, as its translation into English would be; and, besides, we are elsewhere told that the sons of Samuel were Joel and Abiah. Can we hesitate, then, to pronounce that the genuine reading in this place was, 'the first-born, Joel, and the second, Abiah?' A careless transcriber allowed the word 'Joel' to drop from the text; and a stupid reviser inserted between the two remaining words the conjunction, which he supposed to be wanting. Neither MS. nor version favors the proposed reading; it is a *conjecture*, and, as such, would be unceremoniously rejected by many. It is, however, absolutely required in order to reconcile the passage with the other texts where the eldest son of Samuel is named."\*

The exigency arising from parallel passages is equally strong with that just referred to. There are extended passages—as in the book of Chronicles—evidently copied, if not verbatim, yet so that the same facts are substantially stated, "from the earlier historical books." In such a case as this, could any one doubt for an instant if the accounts clashed directly with each other, but that the exigency required, even in the absence of MSS. or version, that they should be made to harmonize?

Instances where conjectural criticism is required are not solitary, rare exceptions. "In a vast number of cases, the internal probability of one reading is so much greater than that of another, that a very slight degree of external probability will suffice to give the latter reading a decided preponderance."† The same able writer, taking wholly different ground on this point from Mr. Davidson, who entirely disclaims conjectural criticism, makes the following additional remarks:—"Generally in the New Testament, where there is an internal probability for preferring a new reading to that

\* Ed. Rev., Oct., 1842.

† Ibid.

which is generally received, the choice is between a good reading and a better. In the Old Testament it is often very different. In numbers of instances the received reading is such as we cannot conceive it possible that the sacred penman could have written ; it bears on the face of it some evident marks of corruption. In such cases we anxiously search the MSS. and ancient versions, in hopes of finding there some trace of a different reading ; and very frequently we are not disappointed : some one or more of these documents contains a reading which satisfies the exigency that we have observed to exist, and which, at the same time, might easily have been corrupted into the received reading. The amount of external evidence in favor of a reading like this, is of little importance. A single version may be conclusive. Nay, the exigency may be so strong, that a reading, which will meet it in a satisfactory manner, may have irresistible claims to be received into the text of a critical edition, though sanctioned by no existing MSS. or version.”\*

While, then, an absolute necessity appears to us to exist for the aid which the judicious application of conjectural criticism may afford in the emendation of the text of the Old Testament, it is equally clear that this liberty ought not to be taken but with the greatest prudence. Especially ought theological exigencies to be reprobated. Well has it been said, that “the object of criticising the sacred text is to ascertain how it was originally written, with a view to take that as the rule of our faith and practice. It would be obviously absurd to reverse this process, and to set out with assuming the existence of a necessity for molding the text to a conformity with our preconceived notions.”† This, however, has been freely done. “Conjectures have been obtruded into the text to support doctrines which have no foundation whatever in the sacred writings.”‡ A due regard to divine authority will serve as a sufficient check to the conscientious critic against such an unwarrantable freedom with the sacred text as this ; a freedom which however tolerated when applied to the revision of the text of classical authors, would be unpardonable license when applied to the sacred Scriptures.

But while the necessity of the emendation of the text of the Old Testament is admitted, (though with more caution by some than by others,) still, as a whole, its general correctness is wonderful. This has been made sufficiently evident by the learned and untiring labors of distinguished critical scholars, among which

\* Ed. Rev., Oct., 1840.

† Ibid.

‡ Horne's Introduction, vol. ii, p. 346, § 1, chap. viii.

illustrious list stand with special eminence Kennicott and De Rossi. But the integrity of the Hebrew text will more fully appear from the following brief account of its past and present condition.

Take the text then, first, as we find it, as is generally agreed, after its perfect revision by Ezra. It is now complete. This is the first stage of its eventful history.

From the establishment of the canon of the Old Testament by Ezra to the completion of the Talmud, about the commencement of the sixth century after Christ, may be regarded as the second period in the history of the Hebrew text. The Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan comport with the revised text of Ezra; as do also, to a considerable extent, the translations of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. The Vulgate of Jerome, made in the fourth century, prepared by the labors of Jewish teachers, and the aid of Jewish MSS., exhibits also "a remarkable conformity to the Jewish recension, which we now possess."\* The agreement of all which versions, through this long period of time, is collateral evidence, of the strongest character, of the purity of the Hebrew text. And though it is acknowledged that the memorials of the text are comparatively few, and scattered at intervals through a long space of time, yet the inference is highly probable, that, during those intervals when we have no specific records of the text, it "remaineth pretty nearly in the same condition."

In addition to the evidence in favor of the integrity of the Hebrew text derived from its conformity to the most ancient and valuable versions, there is reason to think from what we find in the two Gemaras, that something akin to the critical skill, for which the later school of Tiberias was so distinguished, was expended at a much earlier period upon the text, showing the pains thus immemorably bestowed upon it. In addition to the "many traces of a critical skill" which are found in these works, and are generally supposed to have been peculiar to the schools of Tiberias and Babylon, there are also found in the same works "certain kinds of critical corrections which were begun at a much earlier period, (that is, before the fourth and sixth centuries, the respective dates of the two Gemaras,) and were said to be originally derived from Moses." These traces of early, careful revision, are, 1. The removal of the prefix *vau*, erroneously put before several words in the passages, Gen. xviii, 5; xxiv, 55; Num. xii, 14; Psa. xviii, 26, 36, 37. 2. The correction of sixteen or eighteen passages, by

\* Davidson's Bib. Crit., p. 214. See *in loco* for a fuller account of what is here condensed.



removing interpolated orthographical mistakes. Among these, Gen. xviii, 22; 1 Sam. iii, 13. 3. *Puncta extraordinaria*, marks of rejection, over fifteen words. 4. Readings not in the text, but which should be there. 5. Readings inserted, but which should be omitted. 6. Different readings. All this care, thus early bestowed upon the text, of course confirms its integrity.

The third period of the history of the text includes the space from the completion of the Talmud to the invention of printing. At Tiberias, strictly speaking, commences the Masoretic era. The Keris, or marginal readings, which are critical, grammatical, orthographical, explanatory, and euphemistical, constitute the most essential part of the labors of the Masorah. Biblical calligraphy, numbering the letters, the introduction of unusual letters, the selection of *voces honestiores*, also more especially belong to this period. The vowel system, it is also generally conceded, was now introduced. Amid all this varied and minute labor the purity of the text was the truly important object which the Masorites sought to attain. These annotations and rules were regarded as "the hedge of the law;" and though much of the labor of the Masorites may be esteemed "trifling and puerile," yet, on the whole, it is allowed to "have been of essential use in maintaining for so long a period the genuineness and integrity of the Hebrew text."

We come now to the printed text. The Hebrew MSS. now found, bearing, as they do, through their vowels and accents, the marks of Masoretic labor, have no claim to remote antiquity. The most ancient is not more than eight hundred years old. Of these comparatively modern MSS. the text was printed,\* though it is not known what particular MSS. were employed for the first printed editions. Of the earliest editions of the Hebrew printed text three are specified, from which all the rest have proceeded. The first was published at Sancino in 1488; the second was that in the Complutensian Polyglot, published in 1517; and the third was the Rabbinical Bible of Bomberg, published at Venice in 1525. From this last "almost all our modern printed copies have been taken." Among these various editions, Van der Hooght's, published in Amsterdam in 1705, is particularly "celebrated for its beauty and

\* "Although the ancient copies are now irrecoverably lost, yet there is no reason for supposing that their preservation to the present time would have had any essential influence in altering the form of the text. It is almost certain that the later copies contain the same text as the more ancient, and that no important changes have passed upon the words of holy writ."—See *Davidson's Bib. Crit.*, p. 220.

convenience." This edition, revised by Hahn, "who has merely corrected the mistakes of Van der Hooght's text," is now regarded as the *textus receptus*. It has received the sanction of Simonis, Rosenmüller, Judah d'Allemand, and Haas. It is "in all respects the cheapest and the most accurate edition of the Hebrew Bible."

This detail, though brief, is sufficient for our present purpose. It would not, however, be proper to close this statement of the Hebrew text without a more particular reference to the labors of Kennicott and De Rossi. The edition of Kennicott, based on Van der Hooght's, appeared in two volumes, folio, the first in 1776, the second in 1780. Dr. Kennicott, in preparing his edition, collated, in connection with those who were associated with him in this work, six hundred and ninety-four MSS. "A number of printed editions were also examined, and various readings selected from them." He has also given quotations from the Talmud, as the critics of the New Testament did from the fathers of the church. But all this immense labor only showed the general integrity of the text. Of all his various readings, the greater number were "the mere *lapsus* of transcribers." To the above we would merely add, in reference to the edition of De Rossi, published in the years 1784-88, that his readings were taken from eighty-eight MSS. used by Kennicott, and collated anew by De Rossi, from four hundred and seventy-nine in his own possession, from one hundred and ten in other hands, besides what he derived from printed editions, Samaritan MSS., and ancient versions. But the critical result was pretty much the same, though De Rossi is said to have "displayed a better judgment" than Kennicott in the use he made of his materials.

The sum of all this is thus stated by Mr. Davidson:—

"Thus it appears that nearly thirteen hundred MSS. of the Old Testament Scriptures have been collated. We are not to suppose, however, that they all contain the entire of the Old Testament. Few, in fact, embrace all the books, as the MSS. of Dresden (Codex Dresdensis) and the MSS. of Norimberg 1. Some have the Pentateuch, either by itself, or with the Megilloth and Haphtaroth—others have the prophets; others, again, the Hagiographa; some have only one book, such as the Psalms, or Esther, or Canticles. A few possess merely the Haphtaroth.

"The labor expended on such critical editions as we have mentioned is not to be regarded as thrown away, because they exhibit so few essential variations in the text. A knowledge of the agreement of all known MSS. and versions is perhaps sufficient to compensate for all the toil and expense that have been employed. The Masoretic text appears to be, in general, so correct that we need not expect the

future appearance of many important deviations from it. It has been found that the older the versions of the Old Testament, and the purer their state, the nearer they come to the Jewish text. Still we believe that there are passages requiring emendation, though they cannot be numerous. In the mean time, we must wait for other undertakings in Hebrew criticism similar to Kennicott's. The criticism of the Greek Testament is still before that of the Hebrew Bible, having been earlier begun, and more vigorously prosecuted."—P. 225.

Having thus made some remarks based upon the work at the head of this article, it remains for us to give our opinion upon the work which has elicited them. It is what it professes to be, a systematic treatise on the science of Biblical criticism; and is undoubtedly the best work extant on this subject. It treats in a sufficiently full and comprehensive manner all the various topics connected with the science. Among these may be mentioned (not, however, following the arrangement of the author) the nature of the Hebrew and the Greek languages; the history of the text both of the Old and the New Testament; an account of MSS., versions, and citations, from the works of ancient writers, including those found in the writings of the fathers, as also in the Talmud; the causes of various readings; an examination of certain disputed passages in the received text of the New Testament, besides other collateral disquisitions incidentally introduced, especially an elaborate defense of Bishop Middleton's views of the Greek article. The entire ground is covered. We would, however, especially direct the attention of the reader to the chapter on the nature of the Hebrew language, "the most labored and original part of the work"—and to that on the language of the New Testament, explaining, as it does, in a clear, concise, and highly satisfactory manner, the three principal parts—the *κοινή*, or common, the Jewish, and the Christian, or ecclesiastical—of which it is composed. The examination of the disputed passages is worthy of especial commendation, on account of the impartiality which is exhibited. As the result of this examination it appears that, of "eight passages alledged to be interpolations, and after a full statement of the evidence for and against them, a decision is given in favor of all, except the doxology in Matt. vi, 13, and the well-known text, 1 John v, 7, relating to the 'heavenly witnesses;' while of texts, in which the correct reading is disputed, the author only notices the two celebrated ones, Acts xx, 28, and 1 Tim. iii, 16, deciding in the former case in favor of *κυριον*, and in the latter in favor of *θεος*."\*

\* Ed. Rev., Oct., 1840.



The only real deficiency in the work is the part which relates to the account of MSS., which is neither sufficiently full nor minute in its details to meet the wants of those who have not access to other means of information relating to this interesting branch of the science. Perhaps, also, the arrangement might have been improved by a more natural evolution of the different subjects, one topic more readily leading to, and suggesting another. As a whole, it is indeed a work of great value to the Biblical student; enriched, as it is, with the latest investigations of German authors. As it has not been reprinted in this country, we think our publishing agents would confer an essential service to the cause of Biblical science if, with perhaps some alteration and additions, they should issue it from their press.

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ART. IV.—*Psychology; or, Elements of a New System of Mental Philosophy, on the Basis of Consciousness and Common Sense, designed for Colleges and Academies.* By S. S. SCHMUCKER, D. D., Professor of Christian Theology in the Theological Seminary, Gettysburg. 8vo., pp. 227. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1842.

It is a well-known saying of Lord Bacon that "in the youth of a state, arms do flourish; in the middle age of a state, learning; and then both together for a time; in the declining age of a state, mechanical arts and merchandise:" and if there is in this remark any portion of the sound judgment and the wisdom which are characteristics of its author, is there not reason to fear that we have leaped over the previous stages, and are already far advanced in our decline? The age in which our lot is cast may well be called an age of materialism. Millions are eagerly expended on railroads and steam-engines; mechanical improvements succeed each other with unparalleled rapidity; the very elements are almost under man's control; he can bid defiance to winds and waves, soar aloft through the vast plains of ether, and yoke the winged lightning to his car, yet he himself remains the same poor insect, the same slave of his wild passions, the same wretched sport of the powers of evil that he has ever been. While all around him has been pressing onward, he continues stationary; while all around him is daily improving, he is still unchanged. The melancholy fact will hardly be questioned; and what cause can be assigned,

but that, in these latter years, attention has been almost exclusively directed to mechanical philosophy in some or other of its various forms? Without wishing to deny, what is indeed undeniable, that this philosophy has added in many ways to the sum of human well-being, and even prolonged the duration of man's earthly existence, we must not close our eyes to the fact that its influence is confined to this brief life and this material world; and it cannot surely be right that such transitory things should occupy the whole or the principal attention of beings endowed with immortality. Yet so it is: while our steam-presses pant with their gigantic efforts to keep pace with the rapid pens of the concoctors of diluted treatises on all the material sciences, how often do we meet with an original work aiming to investigate the hidden mansions of the mind of man? Thousands of telescopes are pointed to the heaven above, and thousands of mineralogical hammers tearing the bowels of the earth beneath; exploring expeditions turn their learned prows to every point of the mariner's card, but the microcosm within remains unexplored, a vast howling wilderness.

This sore evil appears to us to have arisen from the confounding of two things which have no natural or necessary connection; the external conveniences and comforts of society, as a whole, with the advancement in wisdom and virtue of the individuals who constitute society. What boots it for a man to know the construction of the steam-engine, unless the knowledge enable him to travel with greater safety or comfort in steamboats or railway-cars, or supply him more plentifully with the productions of the power-looms of Lowell or Manchester? An idea has gone abroad that children's minds must be vastly enlarged, and their wits wonderfully sharpened, by their being taught to trace the ascent and descent of the piston-rod, and the influence of the governor. Could we believe this idea well-founded we would readily acknowledge the study to have its use, albeit we cannot overlook the counter influence of the sickening vanity which this semblance of knowledge rarely fails to inspire: but we are by no means convinced that the passive reception of such information is much calculated to benefit the head; it will not be so much as pretended that it will improve the heart.

It should awaken some misgivings as to the correctness of modern theories of education to reflect that Plato, whose gigantic intellect has been the admiration of two thousand years, possessed less of scientific knowledge than many a modern belle, who bores her acquaintance to death with the merciless display of her vast stores of erudition; who prates everlastingly of oxygen and car-

bonic acid gas, who feculates her ruffles, and in whose learned mouth a king-cup becomes a ranunculus, a dandelion a leontodon, and a sow-thistle a sonchus.

The Novum Organon of Bacon banished from the world much error in natural philosophy; but it offered nothing that could take the place of the old scholastic philosophy in sharpening men's wits, or in exercising and improving their intellects; and so long as it shall be true that man is possessed of powers which elevate him immeasurably above the brute creation, so long will it be also true that it should be the aim of education to improve principally (not exclusively) those powers of the man which constitute his distinctive existence; which make him *man*, not *brute*. But popular education has dwindled down from the right formation of the whole man to the mere imbibition of knowledge; and this too, in many instances, knowledge which can be of no possible utility; which adds nothing even to the external well-being of the individual, while the immortal mind is suffered to be paralyzed from inactivity.

Could we evoke the mighty shade of Plato, and make the groves of Academus once again resound with his enchanting eloquence, or reawaken the echoes of the lyceum to the esoteric wisdom of his great disciple, who sat a patient auditor at his gifted master's feet for twenty years, before he thought himself fitted to instruct, we might, perchance, form a juster conception of the proper object of philosophy, (*the love of wisdom*,) and pause before we applied the name to the mechanical occupations of the chimist, with his blow-pipe and retorts, or of the bold impaler of butterflies on pins. We wish it to be clearly understood that we do not undervalue the investigations of the chimist or the entomologist: far from it: the physical sciences are all useful in their proper subordinate sphere—*me prius scrutator, deinde hunc mundum*—but we protest against such comparative trifles being suffered to usurp the place of that higher, nobler, better philosophy, whose prerogative it is to form the man; to fit him to discharge his duty here, and prepare him for heaven hereafter. The study (if study it is to be called) of the physical sciences has a tendency to puff up poor humanity with the vain idea of the vast extent of man's little knowledge and man's little power; and much of the presumption which is a melancholy characteristic of the present age, is assuredly to be attributed to the unfortunate influence of the employments of the school-room.

Deeply impressed with this vital error in the education of youth, we hail the appearance of the work named at the head of this article as one step toward remedying the evil; and the rather



because there was ground for apprehension that, as the effects of the error we have referred to should force themselves on the attention of the world, attempts would be made to remedy it by the introduction of the unhallowed philosophy of Germany, and so the last error should be worst than the first; for if we must make a melancholy choice between ignorance and presumption on the one hand, and pantheistic infidelity on the other, no Christian could for an instant hesitate which to prefer. Great is the reputation of German writers on metaphysics, though happily their works are but little known in this country. Kant and Schelling, and the two Fichtes and Hegel, have all written voluminously, and dignified their wild profanity (drawn partly from the *agri insomnia vana* of the ancient Gnostics, and partly from the daring speculations of Giordano Bruno and the pantheists) with the sacred name of philosophy. For the true character of this portentous philosophy we cannot do better than refer the reader to the able articles which appeared two years ago in the Princeton Review; and we are confident no friend of his country could read those articles and not shudder at the thought of introducing German philosophy into our schools and colleges.

The work before us is not a mere rifocciamento of old systems, *crambe bis repetita*, but in all essential respects entirely original, yet it were no recommendation of it to say that all in it is new. The plan the writer adopted, as stated in his preface, appears to us unexceptionable. After having made himself well acquainted with the principal systems of mental philosophy extant, he laid them all aside, and for ten years narrowly observed the phenomena of his own mind, and recorded them in the volume he has given to the world. For his patient perseverance in such a course in these days of flimsy compilations, we should owe our thanks to the author, even were the system he has laid down less intrinsically valuable than we believe it to be.

We have, then, in the volume a rigid analysis of an individual mind, somewhat after the manner of Locke, but with a different classification of the mental phenomena; for, while Locke divided ideas into simple and compound, Dr. Schmucker proposes a three-fold arrangement, into, I. Cognitive ideas; II. Sentient ideas; III. Active operations; that is, knowledge, feeling, and action: thus substantially agreeing with the majority of recent writers in the number and designation of the mental operations, (not *faculties*, for of these we can have no immediate knowledge,) but differing from most in the order of the classes, the lines of division, and the subdivisions under the classes.

The first class (cognitive ideas) is made to include perceptions, acts of consciousness, conceptions, judgments, recollections, results of reasoning, and the dictates of conscience.

The second class (sentient ideas) comprehends sensations, emotions, affections, and passions.

The third, or active class, volitions, processes of reasoning, the act of memorizing, the intellectual act of communicating thoughts to others, &c.

The treatise, therefore, is naturally divided into three parts, corresponding to these several classes of mental operations.

Cognitive ideas are treated of under three heads: I. The external entities, or objects of knowledge; II. The ideas themselves, or mental representations of the entities; III. The organic process by which we obtain our ideas; and in the conduct of these several investigations many highly interesting considerations are suggested, for which we must refer to the work itself: we think, however, that the doctor might well have omitted the argument, brief as it is, to prove the existence of external entities, that is, of the material world. We hold, with Reid, that he who could really doubt it, would be a subject for physic, and not metaphysics: all argument with such a man is idle. Any one, who was so far gone as to deny that the ideas of taste, and touch, and sight were produced individually by external entities, might well deny that they were connected with each other; in other words, that the supposed apple that was tasted and felt, was the same apple that was seen.

We are, in the main, pleased with this analysis of knowledge and feeling, which is developed and established at some length; yet by no means so fully as to leave teacher and student nothing to do. Designing the work, as the title intimates, for a text book in colleges and academies, the author has judiciously confined himself to a rigid outline of his system, leaving detailed illustration chiefly to the *viva voce* instructions of the teacher; this is a feature of the work which pleases us much. We are presented, as it were, with an anatomical skeleton, which shows us clearly the connection and ramification of the operations of the mind; with a chart of our road which may guide us safely as Ariadne's clew through the labyrinthine windings of the darksome way: but this paucity of illustrations gives an air of harshness to the book, constantly compelling the reader to think closely in order to comprehend the author's conclusions. The time has not yet arrived, if it ever will, when all mankind may think alike on abstruse questions, and we find in this work, notwithstanding its general excellence, some minor points to which we must take exception: we cannot,

for instance, agree that number should be considered a substantive entity. That space and time (and perhaps the Deity) may well be called absolute entities, we are prepared to allow, notwithstanding the disposition among metaphysical writers to class them as mere relations of entities; but if space, for example, is a relation between certain entities, it is incontrovertible that if those entities were destroyed the relation must perish with them. Now what destruction of entities can be conceived that shall affect space? Might not the whole material universe be annihilated, yet space remain intact? Nor are we able, with our present mental constitution, to conceive the non-existence of time. We say with our present mental constitution, for that neither space nor time has any existence to God, we are ready to admit, and we are compelled to believe also, but it is with our faith, and not our understanding, that a period is approaching when the archangel's oath shall be fulfilled, and "time shall be no longer;" but this is a matter altogether beyond our present conception, and certainly affords no argument against their present existence except what would be equally applicable to the whole universe; for when time ceases it shall also perish. Bishop Berkeley defined time to be the succession of ideas; yet was ever even a metaphysician so far distraught as really to delude himself into the belief that time was nothing more than this? that when ideas were absent, time was not? and that the more rapidly idea succeeded idea, the more quickly did time also pass? This skepticism was in accordance with the philosophy of Berkeley, who denied the existence of matter itself; but we are pleased to find symptoms of a return to a healthier faith among the writers of the present day, for the doctor does not stand alone. The same ground has been taken (as to space) in a recent excellent article in the London Quarterly Review, and it cannot but appear strange to those unacquainted with the mystifying influence of the old verbiage of metaphysics, that so great an outrage on common sense as a denial of the existence of time and space should ever have been perpetrated. For ourselves, until we learn that the love-sick swain who put up to Olympus the modest request,—

"Ye gods, annihilate both time and space,  
And make two lovers happy,"

has received a favorable answer to his petition, we shall be content to believe with the *ignobile vulgus*, who, relying in unquestioning simplicity of mind and heart on the evidence of the senses which the omniscient Creator bestowed on them for their sufficient guidance, have so often been found right when learned pundits had



argued themselves into folly, that space and time are real existences. But it seems to us that the case is very different with number; this we are disposed, with Locke, to regard as a primary quality of entities, and we think the author's reasoning to prove its objectivity utterly inconclusive. He says,—

“We can conceive of number separately from every other entity. Nay, a moment's reflection will convince us, that all the operations carried on with numbers, not only may be, but generally are, carried on independently of the objects from which the data of the calculation are derived, and to which its results are again to be applied. It is a matter of indifference to the mathematician, when requested to perform certain operations on given numbers, whether he knows to what purpose his calculations are subsequently to be applied or not. Any series of figures, stated in the form of a sum, with the customary mathematical signs, is nothing else than a sentence describing certain relations of number, or asking what those relations are.”

It is true that a mathematician may reason, to any length, upon numbers without any regard or reference to the objects which they represent; but the very fact that such numbers do really represent objects is conclusive against the ential existence of number itself.

Perhaps the most interesting and valuable portion of the volume is the third part; that which treats of the active operations of the mind under the five heads,—inspection, arrangement, modification, mental direction of physical action, and the process of intellectual intercourse. We have here an elaborate elucidation of the action of the human mind, the results of a most watchful and keen investigation of its *modus operandi*.

Our limits do not permit us to extract at any length; but we are convinced that those who have most deeply studied the constitution of the human mind will find here much matter for profitable reflection. We subjoin a portion of the author's remarks on the syllogism, as a fair specimen of his style and mode of handling his subject.

“Every species of syllogism is nothing else than a particular arrangement of certain entities, or rather of propositions expressing our ideas of them, such as is best calculated to facilitate their inspection; and the art of reasoning well is nothing else than the habit of arranging the related ideas in this way for easy inspection.—In pursuing our examination of syllogisms, we begin with the several parts, and first inquire, What are they? They consist of human language, of propositions. These describe some of our mental representatives or ideas; and the question is, Of what entities are they representatives, of substantive, or adjective, or composite entities, or of all combined? An example will best illustrate these observations in their application to the structure of the syllogism:—

"Major proposition: If there is a God, he ought to be worshiped.

"Minor proposition: But there is a God.

"Conclusion: Therefore he ought to be worshiped.

"\* \* \* The major proposition, when closely examined, seems evidently to be nothing else than a sentence expressing in words our ideas of a composite entity, that is, of the relation of two simple entities to each other. The simple entities are, 1. A Being corresponding to the idea designated by the sound and word *God*; and, 2. Those actions of his rational creatures, which they perform with a view of worshiping him; and the relation between them is that of suitableness. The process by which this relation is known is none other than that of inspection. The result of inspection is, in all cases, knowledge; and in this case likewise we can trace no other operation than the act of inspecting the two parts of a composite entity, God, and the worship of him by rational creatures; and the result of this inspection is conviction of the relation. This knowledge or conviction is not optional, but necessary. The minor proposition, philosophically stated, runs thus: 'But there is an entity corresponding to the mental representative designated by the sound, which we describe by the letters G, o, d,' 'hence he ought to be worshiped' is the conclusion or relation perceived by the mind. It is evident that the only point to be proved in this syllogism is the minor, viz., that there exists an entity which we designate by the term *God*, and this must be done, and can be done, only by the successive inspection of the entities which constitute the proof." —P. 140.

Pursuing an independent course of investigation, the author has every now and then thrown out a hint corrective of long-established errors into which one writer so often leads another. Every one recollects the old doctrine of the association of ideas, and Brown's celebrated substitution of *suggestion* for *association*. Says Dr. Schmucker,—

"This word, though it conveys something of the character of these operations, seems not to be well selected as their generic and characteristic appellation. It seems to represent one item in a train of consecutive reminiscences or associations, as the agent that causes the occurrence of the other, while the mind is regarded rather as the passive recipient of these influences. In reality, however, *the mind is the active subject*; its spontaneous rambles result from the constitutional activity of its nature, while in these rambles it, by a law of its nature, pursues, in preference, the channel of those natural relations between the different entities or objects which really subsist between them, or those artificial relations constituted in the course of events, or those habits of mind which proceed from individual voluntary action. The principles regulating these associations are therefore intelligible, and it is also evident that, to a certain extent, they are the result of our most frequent voluntary actions."

We must draw our remarks to a close : but we cannot conclude without a hearty recommendation of the work to the attention of instructors. That it should be pervaded by a spirit of genuine but unostentatious piety would naturally be expected in the production of a professor of Christian theology, and we are confident it cannot be properly used without exerting a beneficial influence alike on the mind and heart of the student.

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ART. V.—*The prosperous State of the Christian Interest before the End of Time, by a plentiful Effusion of the Holy Spirit, considered in fifteen Sermons, on Ezek. xxxix, 29.* By Rev. JOHN HOWE, M. A. Found in his Posthumous Works. New-York: John P. Haven. 1835.

“Neither will I hide my face any more from them; for I have poured out my Spirit upon the house of Israel, saith the Lord God.”

THE curse of inactivity has not fallen upon the American people; and speculations in politics, philosophy, and religion, have not died away. From Maine to Georgia, and from the Atlantic to the frontier, we are a busy multitude. Mind, though never quiet, is more than ordinarily restless; old opinions are revived and discussed with great pertinacity; and new dogmas are thrust upon our attention with the utmost boldness and confidence.

Mesmerism has become a *science*; and Mormonism is considered well worthy the attention of the philosopher. The march of mind is wonderful! And when the few remaining gray-headed sires, who, all their life, have only hobbled along in science and religion, and who now sit as an incubus on society, shall have passed off the stage, the rising generation will astonish the world with a race of men giant in intellect, and super-Newtonian in discovery.

The millennium has engaged the attention of some portion of the church from Justin Martyr, the most ancient of the fathers, to the present time. Different views on the subject have been entertained. The millenarians, proper, believe that “our Saviour shall reign a thousand years with the faithful upon earth after the first resurrection, before the full completion of final happiness.” Another portion of the church believe, that, by the millennium, nothing more is meant than “that, before the general judgment, Christianity shall be diffused through all nations; and that man-



kind shall enjoy that peace and happiness which the faith and precepts of the gospel are calculated to confer on all by whom they are sincerely embraced."

Against the former opinion, Origen and Dionysius early entered their protest. And through their influence and exertions, this doctrine, which rests on tradition and some doubtful texts of Revelation, and other scriptures, was materially checked. And many, as we are informed by Eusebius, after listening to the discourses of Dionysius, were thoroughly convinced of the futility of their doctrine. Of this number was Coracio, founder and principal leader of the sect in Assinoe.

Burnet and others maintain that Dionysius, in the third century, was the first to attack this doctrine; and that it generally prevailed in the church till the Nicene council, in 325. But Origen had assailed it previous to this. And Dr. Whitby proves, in his learned treatise on the subject, first, that this notion of the millennium was never generally received in the church of Christ; and, secondly, that there is no just ground to think it was derived from the apostles.

The authority on which this doctrine rests is very similar to that on which the Jews grounded their expectation of a temporal prince in the Messiah, who should sway a universal sceptre over the nations of the earth, and make Jerusalem the metropolis of his empire. And we are free to confess we look with quite as much expectation for the millennium of the Jew as the thousand years' reign of the millenarian.

The *time* of Christ's personal reign on the earth, it is more generally allowed, will be the *seventh millenary* of the world. This period is to be the great sabbatism, or holy rest of the people of God. "One day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day." When this millenary will commence none were able precisely to tell. Chronologers, like philosophers and divines, do not always agree. Especially is this the case in the higher ages of antiquity.

But in this respect we have a great advantage over the reformers, fathers, and apostles. We are now informed, not what the millennium is only, but also the precise point of time when it will commence!

In the millennium, for which we are now to look, will be, first, the resurrection of the righteous, and then the burning up of the world with the wicked. After this, the new heavens and earth appearing, Christ will descend and reign personally with the righteous a thousand years. At the expiration of this period they will

be gathered into the "beloved city." This done, Satan shall be let loose upon the earth, which a thousand years before was burned up; and shall deceive the nations, previously destroyed, in the four quarters of the earth. Then shall follow the general judgment. And the devil, with the wicked, being driven into the lake of fire, there to remain for ever and ever, the gates of the city will be thrown open, and this earth will become *the final, the everlasting abode of the blessed*.

The commencement of this unequalled drama is to be in 1843; probably between the middle of March and the middle of April. One of the advocates of this sublime theory has found as strong evidence in the Bible of the destruction of the earth, the end of the world, in 1843, as he has of the Messiahship of Jesus Christ! And another, younger, and, of course, a little more confident, assures us, unless the event does take place at this time, the *Bible is false*!

But notwithstanding we live on the very eve of this eventful period, and are blessed with such infallible helps to an understanding of the subject, such is our obtuseness of intellect and want of credulity, that we can neither see nor believe it. And though our condition to some may appear any thing but an enviable one, our comfort is, while looking at a number of old, learned, and pious authors, on our shelves, if we be in error, we have along with us very good company.

Among this number we place John Howe; a name not to be forgotten as long as the "Living Temple" is appreciated. A man of strong mind, extensive erudition, and independence of thought; and whose various learning was sanctified to God. "He being dead, yet speaketh."

Mr. Howe's "fifteen sermons on the prosperous state of the Christian interest, before the end of time," were preached in the course of a Wednesday lecture, in the year 1678; and, as the editor remarks, "when he was in the vigor of life and height of judgment, between forty and fifty years old."

The style of our author, though not flowery and rhetorical, is, nevertheless, nobly eloquent and forcible. Mr. Watson, in introducing extracts from the "Living Temple," says,—"They [the extracts] bear upon the conclusion with an *irresistible force*, and are expressed with a *noble eloquence*, though in language a little antiquated in structure." He is *parenthetic*, and sometimes not a little obscure. Indeed, the writings of Howe, like the immortal "Analogy" of Butler,\* must be studied. And it is study that we

\* In the October number of the Quarterly for 1841, the reviewer of Butler's Analogy, says, his "Introduction to it was singular and impressive. A friend,

need at the present day, much more than cursory reading. A few choice authors, studied and understood, are worth far more than hundreds of volumes but imperfectly read. An individual may, with morbid appetite, gorge himself with every production, good, bad, and indifferent, that falls from the press. And though he may, in a certain sense, be *extensively* read, yet he is not *well* read. Truth, properly studied, will make a distinct and indelible impression on the mind. Much of light reading, instead of invigorating and expanding, weakens and *intoxicates* the mind. The mere reader, as Cassio remarks of himself, after a drunken carousal, "remembers a *mass of things*, but *nothing distinctly*."

We would by no means be understood as embracing all the sentiments contained in Mr. Howe's posthumous works. But it is to the "Work of the Holy Spirit in reference to the Christian Church" that our attention is especially directed.

After the introduction of the text, with suitable preliminary remarks, our author lays down the two following propositions, viz. :—

"First. That there is a state of permanent serenity and happiness appointed for the universal church of Christ upon earth.

"Secondly. That the immediate original and cause of that felicity and happy state, is a large and general effusion or pouring forth of the Spirit."

Upon the expression, "house of Israel" in the text, Mr. Howe remarks,—

"1. I doubt not but that it hath a meaning included, as it is literally taken, of that very people wont to be known by that very name 'the house of Israel'—the seed of Jacob.

"2. But I as little doubt that it hath a further meaning too. And it is an obvious observation, than which none more obvious, that the universal church, even of the gospel constitution, is frequently in the prophetic scriptures of the Old Testament represented by this, and by the equivalent names of Jerusalem and Zion, and the like. And we find that, in the New Testament too, the name is retained. 'All are not Israel that are of Israel. He is not a Jew that is one outwardly.' He means certainly a Christian. 'I know the blasphemy of them that say they are Jews, and are not,' Rom. ii, 28; Rev. ii, 9. And we

looking into his library, said, 'Here is a book which I purchased some time ago, having heard it recommended as one of the greatest of this or any other age; I have commenced reading it twice, and have twice desisted. It made my head ache: I cannot comprehend it. I will give it to you if you will study it.'" Apropos—I knew a gentleman who purchased Howe's Works, but finding them *dry*, and, as he thought, not answering the recommendation, rid his shelves by an early sale.



shall have little reason to doubt, and there will be occasion to make it more apparent hereafter, that so we are to explain the signification of this name here; not to exclude the natural Israelites, but also to include the universal Christian church."

The "house of Israel," meaning the universal church, the "better state of the Christian interest," so frequently the subject of lofty discourse and prophecy, both in the Old and New Testaments, is not therefore literally and exclusively Jewish in interpretation, but eminently Christian.

The "tranquillity of the church for a considerable tract of time" is briefly described. And from a number of considerations our author shows that this happy and serene state is yet in the future.

The second proposition, and that on which our author dwells more largely, is the general effusion of the Spirit as the immediate original, and cause of this happy state. "I will pour out my Spirit upon the house of Israel, saith the Lord God."

What kind of communication, or pouring forth of the Spirit, shall this be? Ordinary in kind, extraordinary in fullness.

"Whether ever any extraordinary gifts shall be revived, that, because I know nothing of it, I shall affirm nothing in. If you speak of this communication formally, as to the nature or kind of it in itself considered, so we may understand it to be a very great and plentiful communication that is here meant. So the very expression in the text of pouring forth doth import, the same word being sometimes used to signify the larger and more remarkable issues of God's wrath, when, as a deluge, and inundation, it breaks forth upon a people and overflows. It signifies (as some critical writers do observe) both *celerity* and *abundance* in the effusion. And the expression having that use, to denote the breakings forth of the wrath and fury of God, and being now applied here to this purpose, it carries such an import with it as if it had been said, My wrath was never poured forth so copiously, so abundantly, but that there shall be as large and copious an effusion of my Spirit. I take it, that these two properties must be understood to belong unto this communication; the *fullness* of it, in reference to each particular individual soul; and the *universality* of it, so as that it shall extend unto vastly many, in comparison of what it hath done: but neither of them to be understood in an absolute sense."

When we look at the world lying in the wicked one, Moham-medism, Paganism, and Romanism, each in different places predominant; and then contemplate this better state of the Christian church, we may inquire, "How can these things be?" Inspiration furnishes the answer, "Not by might, nor by power, but *by my Spirit*, saith the Lord of hosts."

Hence our author next calls our attention to the "efficacy" of this Spirit. "This means will certainly do the business, nothing else can; and there is no other way to bring such a state of things about."

The Spirit may have influence to this purpose, both mediately and immediately.

"1. Mediatly; by the intervention of some other things," as "kings and potentates of the earth—ministers of the gospel—family order—and more common and general example of serious and exemplary religion, in the professors of it."

2. Immediately; in its direct influence upon the souls of men. This will be manifest, "1. In numerous conversions; 2. In the high improvement and growth of those that sincerely embrace religion." The former is an increase of the church in *extent*; the latter, in *glory*.

The increase of the church in the "last days" is an inspiring theme of the prophets. "In the last days, the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills, and all *nations* shall flow unto it. And many people shall go, and say, Come ye, let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob, and he will teach us his ways, and we will walk in his paths; for out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem. And he shall judge among the nations, and shall rebuke many people, and they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning hooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more," Isa. ii, 2-4. "The stone cut out of the mountain shall fill the whole earth; the barren shall sing and cry aloud; the children of the desolate shall be numerous; the abundance of the sea shall be converted; and the subjects of Christ's kingdom shall be multiplied as the dew from the womb of the morning." With such "celerity" shall this Spirit be poured forth, and so numerous shall the converts to Christianity become, that the astonished beholder will exclaim, "Who hath *heard* such a thing? Who hath *seen* such a thing? Shall the earth be made to bring forth in one day? Or shall a nation be born at once?" Isa. lxvi, 8. "The tabernacle of God is with men." There shall the song of praise and submission be heard from the mountain-top, from the banks of the flowing streams, from the sea, and from the land,—"*Hallelujah! the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth!*" Our author continues:—

"There shall be great improvement in the church in point of holiness; so that it shall increase, not only in extent, but in glory, and in

respect of the lustre, loveliness, and splendor of religion in it. Religion shall become a much more beautiful and attractive thing, according to the representation which it shall have in the profession and conversation of them that sincerely embrace it ; which I suppose to be more especially pointed at in such passages as the following :—‘ Arise, shine, for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee. But unto you that fear my name shall the Sun of righteousness arise with healing in his wings.’ ”

“ What shall be the sign of thy coming, and of the *end* of the world ? ” is a question which the disciples, with much anxiety, in private, proposed to our Lord. The answer given by the Saviour, under circumstances deeply and lastingly impressive, was, “ Of that day and hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels of heaven, but my Father only.”

Much better would it have been for the “ Christian interest ” if all the professed disciples of Christ believed that he *meant* what he said. But instead of this, the time has been set, again and again, when this event should take place. And yet the sun continues his diurnal course. These pseudo-prophets have only blocked his wheels with straw, and chained his car with gossamer cords.

With zeal is the sentiment now propagated, that the world’s destruction shall be in 1843. With some it is the all-absorbing topic. Ministers of the gospel, in some instances, leave their appropriate work at the altar, and traverse the country with *chart* and *tent* to inform the people of “ *that day*,” which “ *no man* knoweth.”

Mother Anne had her believers ; Matthias his dupes ; and Joe Smith has his followers. Marvel not, then, that Millerism has its converts. There is a class of persons whose predominant development is credulity. It would seem from the history of man that nothing is too absurd to be believed. The wildest theory has never wanted advocates, especially if it “ *smacked* ” of a little notoriety.

If only the leaders themselves were to suffer we might let them smart a little in the fire of their own kindling. But many well-meaning persons are made the dupes of their “ *vain philosophy*.” A morbid excitement is produced in the minds of some, and much injury is done to the cause of *real* Christianity, and no little capital is furnished for skepticism and infidelity.

The remarks of our author on this part of the subject commend themselves to the attention of all “ *who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity* : ”—



"Those that do look forward unto what is future, if there be any representation set before them, any prospect of what is more pleasing and grateful to them, are more apt to be curious about the circumstances of such an expected event, than to be serious in minding the substantials that do belong to that state itself. And that vain curiosity to inquire, joined with an over-much boldness in some persons to determine about the times and seasons, when such and such things shall be, hath certainly been no small prejudice unto the interest of the Christian religion in our days, upon a two-fold account. The disappointment hath dashed the hopes of many of the better sort, and confirmed the atheism of those of the worst sort. Those of the better sort, many of them, that have allowed themselves to be so curious and bold, curious in their inquiries, and bold in their definitions and determinations; when they have found themselves disappointed, have been apt to conclude concerning all the concernments of religion, as concerning those wherein they have found themselves disappointed; as thinking, that their imagination was as true as the gospel about these things: and so, if they have not undergone the shock of a temptation to adhere more easily and loosely unto the Christian profession upon account of such disappointments, yet at least their spirits have been as it were sunk into despondency, because they relied upon false grounds, and which could not sustain a rational hope. And then the atheists and infidels have been highly confirmed in their skepticism and atheism, because such and such have been so confident of things, wherein they have been mistaken; and because they pretended to have their ground for their belief and expectation out of the Scriptures, therefore those Scriptures must sure signify nothing."

The expositions of prophecy are numerous and various. In the hands of some commentators, the writings of the prophets mean "any thing, nothing." They have as many applications as Proteus shapes; and are as easily conformed to the fancy of the expositor.

It would be almost infinitely amusing to read these various expositions, were it not so serious and important a subject; as it is, our "laughter is turned to weeping." For we can but see, and sensibly feel, too, that Christ is wounded in the house of his friends. The prying curiosity of some, and vain attempts of others, to explain those prophecies which are sealed up "till the end of days," have done no little disservice to the cause of Christ in the world.\*

Our author remarks upon the importance of "a religious, pru-

\* The critical notes of Dr. A. Clarke on the prophecies command the respect of the scholar and pious sensible reader. If the doctor does not inflate us with air, so that we can easily sail in the region of fancy and vision, he does what is far better for us, in our present corporeal state, he leaves us standing upon the terra firma of *plain, understood truth*.

dent fear of misapplying the prophecies, or restricting and determining them to this or that point of time, which may not be intended by the Spirit of God. It is certain there ought to be a religious fear of this, because they are sacred things, and therefore not to be trifled with, or made use of to other purposes than they were meant for; much less to serve mean purposes, to gratify our own curiosity, to please our fancy and imagination. And there ought to be a prudent fear of this, and will be in a well-tempered soul, because of the great hurt and danger that may attend such misapplications."

Those that would not be carried about by every wind of doctrine, and who would have that "good thing" spoken of by the apostle, "their hearts established with grace," will be pleased with the following extract:—

"I cannot but recommend to you that remarkable piece of Scripture in 2 Thess. ii, 1, 2: 'Now we beseech you, brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by our gathering together unto him, that ye be not soon shaken in mind, or be troubled, neither by spirit, (or by pretended inspirations,) nor by word, nor by letter, as from us, as that the day of Christ is at hand.' You shall hardly meet with a more solemn, earnest attestation in all the Bible than this. That is the thing I reckon it so very remarkable for. 'I beseech you, brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ; by what he knew was most dear to them, and the mention whereof would be most taking to their hearts; if you have any kindness for the thoughts of that day, any love for the appearance and coming of our Lord; if ever any such thoughts have been grateful to your hearts, we beseech you, by that coming of his, and by your gathering together unto him, that you be not soon shaken in mind, that you do not suffer yourselves to be discomposed by an apprehension, as if the day of Christ were at hand.'"

The sentiments of our author are so "congenerous" with our own, that we could with pleasure fill our paper with extracts. More satisfactory, however, will it be for the reader to consult the work for himself.

Our corollary from our author is, that the better state of the Christian interest, for an indefinite period of time, by the plentiful effusion of the Holy Spirit, is the only *millennium* we may reasonably expect. Christianity shall be diffused abroad. "The gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world." The stone cut out of the mountain will fill the whole earth; and all the *nations* of mankind will become *Christian*. Not that every individual, in every nation, shall become personally and experimentally a Christian. This we think the Scriptures do not authorize us to expect. There will be non-professors, unbelievers, "*scoffers*,"

even, in the Christian *world* as there are now in the Christian *nations*. But not in the same ratio. The Spirit being more abundantly poured forth, and Christian ministers, and Christians themselves, becoming more *holy* and *active*, the influence of religion will be more hallowing, and ten-fold greater upon society than ever before.

When this "better day" of the Christian church will come, we cannot, we *dare* not say. The knowledge of the "times and seasons" is with God. It may be near at hand, and it may be afar off. The prayer of the church should be, "Thy kingdom come!"

When we take into consideration what has been done in the last quarter of a century, what is now being done; see how God is opening a way in the wilderness, and preparing streams in the desert; and how intense the feeling on the subject of religion is becoming in all quarters of the globe, we may judge that the commencement of this glorious era draweth nigh. The Lord hasten it in his own good time!

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ART. VI.—*Protestantism is the Ancient and Papacy the New Religion.*

(Translated from "*L'Europe Protestante*," for the *Methodist Quarterly Review*.)

*The antiquity of their church*, is the cry of Papists; nothing is more common than to hear them boast of this pretended antiquity; and nine times out of ten, where persons have been persuaded to exchange their Protestant faith for Catholic, we will find that Romanists owe their success to this imposition. This argument is the weapon with which they ever commence their attacks; it is this also which produces the greatest effect upon common minds, and most easily shakes the belief of illiterate Protestants. Our adversaries, it is true, do not advance this one argument alone, there are others which they endeavor to set forth, but *this* always figures in the front rank; it is, in fine, the great artillery by means of which they, on every occasion, attempt to make the breach.

It is in consequence of the importance they attach to this boasted ancientness, and the frequent use they make of it, that we have thought proper to devote a number of pages to a popular refutation of this Papal sophistry. It will not be difficult to demonstrate that this antiquity, of which the partisans of Rome so much



boast, is the most gratuitous of all their pretensions. We can only compare them with the Gibeonites, who came to the Israelites with clouted shoes and moldy bread, as if they had journeyed from a far country; but we must not suffer them, more than the Gibeonites, to impose upon the ignorant or unreflecting, by so futile means and so absurd pretensions.

Romanists, in their discussions with Protestants, affirm that "the reformers, before their separation, were in the communion of our church," and consequently we must admit that the Romish is the true church, and pronounce sentence of condemnation on the men who originally separated themselves from Papacy. We freely grant to them that the reformers were in the communion of the Romish Church; we grant to them also that, in a certain sense, we have gone out from the church; but we maintain that if we have separated from her, it is because she is alienated from the simplicity of the gospel; it is because she has rejected its fundamental truths. There was a time when the darkness of Papacy covered the earth; but the reformers broke through this darkness, and have shown to others the way of life. Thus, though we must say they went out from Romanism, it is not the less true that they separated from it as our Lord and his apostles separated themselves from Judaism: it was in the same manner that the great apostle of the Gentiles abjured the sect of the Pharisees, to which he had formerly been so strongly attached.

One thing new in Protestantism is its name. This has arisen from the protest made by many of the princes and towns of Germany, who appealed from the pope to the emperor and a general council; a protest which included a profession of faith, and which gave occasion to their enemies to designate them by the epithet of Protestants. But, in matters of controversy, names are nothing; doctrines are every thing. Our creed, so far from being new, is as old as the Bible, for it is contained in the Bible.

However, it is proper to define in clear and precise terms what we understand by the term Protestant. In the most natural acceptation of the word it is this, *Every man who protests against the errors of Papacy and defends the truth of the gospel.* This term was not in use before the sixteenth century; but the principles which it resumes are those of the times of ancient Christianity.

Papists, like all other supporters of unsound faith, take advantage of the fact that the name Protestant had not been in use before the time of the Reformation, to maintain that our doctrines are of the same date. "Where were," say they to the uneducated and unin-

formed man, "where were your doctrines before the Reformation?" An embarrassing question for many, who have not taken pains to examine into the matter; while others suffer themselves to be ensnared as an easy prey to this subtlety, by this Papal cavil. Our doctrines have never wanted witnesses to attest their truth; and at the time of the Reformation a standard was publicly raised, under which all, who prefer Christ to the pope, and truth to error, range themselves.

But first of all, let us prove what their doctrines are, all the doctrines of Papacy, which are of so recent an origin. It is not to the Bible that we must go to find them, but in the decrees of popes and councils. Only a few centuries had passed, after the death of our Saviour, when superstition and ignorance had enlarged far and wide their empire. The bishops of Rome endeavored, by various expedients, to set themselves up as lords over God's heritage, and to bring all Christians under their domination, as they were "universal pastors." Thanks to the gross ignorance which then reigned! thanks also to the tyranny exercised by the Roman pontiffs! some of their exorbitant pretensions gradually gained ground for many centuries.

When the despotism of the popes was completely established, other errors successively crept into the church, till at length Papacy came to that state where we now find it. The false doctrines of Rome did not spring up all at once, but they put forth gradually; afterward they completed their system, and reunited themselves in the creed of Pope Pius IV., in 1564. By the term Papist we wish to designate every man who adopts these new dogmas, and the creed of yesterday's birth. During many successive centuries the Church of Rome had been swerving more and more from the faith; but it was not till the Council of Trent, when the creed was digested, that her apostasy was complete, and appeared in its true light. What ought to excite the astonishment of every Protestant, of every simple and artless man, is, that Rome has been able to dupe the world so long; that the world has submitted to its unscriptural innovations. But, it is proper to say, there was in all this an uncommon depth of craftiness; at the time the errors were introduced, they had, so to speak, the force of law, before the mass of the people could perceive them; and as force protected them as well as fraud, the small number of those whose eyes were opened could do nothing more than weep in secret over the innovations. Thus it was at length that the ancient way disappeared under the brambles of Papacy, which encumbered it more and more to the day of the Reformation. At that glorious epoch the reform-

ers cleared the path of the primitive track ; it was not a new road they had discovered, they only returned to the ancient path, and showed it to a wondering world. Whatever the obstruction was, it was the good old way, and the reformers only restored the church to its primitive purity. The truth had remained for ages concealed from the view of the great majority of the human race ; although in all time there have been faithful men who were guided by its light ; and the reformers wished only to dissipate the thick cloud with which Papal influence had enveloped it.

Meanwhile Papists persist in regarding their religion as the primitive Christianity, and branding Protestantism with the opprobrium of a novelty. One of the most interesting monuments in Great Britain is an old Saxon church ; of its style of architecture there remains only a very few specimens in that country. After the lapse of years the magnificent arcades of this edifice, by reason of the number of coats of whitewash that had been put on it from time immemorial, by the direction of the different successive church wardens, presented only a surface perfectly smooth, in the place of the rich embroidery which characterized the Saxon arcade. A lady, residing near the church, who was passionately fond of the study of antiquity, the sister of a distinguished antiquarian, solicited, and obtained from the authorities of the parish, permission to restore the arcades to their primitive state ; and so great was her anxiety to commence the work, she immediately provided herself with the necessary apparatus, and commenced scraping away the lime and mortar of many generations ; and at this day the curious can admire the church restored to its ancient splendor. Now, we ask, is there any one who would think of denying that this edifice, in its restored state, was not the ancient Saxon church ? or of saying that in removing the coats of lime, the lady had destroyed the edifice ? Who would be so absurd as to hold such language ? Yet do not the Papists the same thing in their manner of reasoning ? Papacy is the plastering with which the truth has been masked ; the chisel of the reformers has removed it, and truth shows itself again in its native beauty. But this does not hinder the Papists calling their church the ancient church ; an absurdity as glaring as if we should maintain that this thick envelop which the chisel has cleared from the monument, of which we have spoken, was the ancient edifice.

The Greeks were accustomed to amuse themselves with a curious discussion on the ship *Argo*. This ship, in which Jason embarked to win the golden fleece, was preserved at his return as a sacred relic. After the lapse of years she gradually decayed and



fell to pieces ; but they had so great a veneration for this monument of a famous expedition, that they constantly repaired it in those places where the corroding tooth of time had wasted any part. At length the hulk of the ancient ship entirely disappeared, and there remained only that which they had added from time to time, as the materials of the primitive structure had disappeared. The question which the Greeks proposed was, "Whether this ship, thus composed of successive pieces, was the same veritable ship that Jason had commanded, or was it another?" It is thus the Romish Church has omitted, little by little, the ancient truths of the gospel, and has replaced them by modern errors ; and yet these sectarians presume to maintain that their church is that one whose foundations the Saviour laid, and whose construction Paul and the other apostles have completed.

How this Papistical crust is formed, how it has acquired its present thickness, we shall see by an exposure of the origin and introduction of the principal errors of the Romish Church. We shall be as concise as possible, and shall follow the chronological order in the arrangement of subjects for examination. We have been very particular to put down the proper dates, that all may be convinced of the slender foundation of this pretension to antiquity.

We will commence with *image worship*, the first in point of time of all the innovations we are called upon to examine. It was about the year A. D. 800 that images began to be introduced as objects of worship into the churches ; but they were not generally admitted. Subsequently many general councils condemned the use of them, and it was not till a much later period that their worship became universal.

*Transubstantiation* next presents itself. According to Papists, at the moment the priest pronounces the word of consecration the bread and wine become, by an instantaneous metamorphosis, the veritable blood and body of Christ. And when was this monstrous doctrine received ? It had been already decided as early as the year 1059 that the body of Christ was present in the sacrament ; but it was not till 1215, at the fourth council at the Lateran, that it was decreed, "the species of the eucharist entirely disappeared."\* Such is the high antiquity of this famous dogma.

\* That is, the reality of bread and wine disappeared entirely ; and nothing remained but "the body and blood, soul and divinity of Jesus Christ." The Catechism of the Council of Trent, which is of equal authority with the decrees and canons of that council, goes a step further in the minute specification, and says nothing remains but "the body and blood, bones and nerves, soul and divinity of Jesus Christ."—*Dr. Brownlee.*

*Auricular confession* was also established at the same time. According to the Romish Church, the sinner cannot obtain pardon for his sins unless he confesses to a priest.\*

It is quite remarkable that the same council, by which the two last articles of faith were established, by a special act, declared in favor of celebrating divine service in the common language of each country. Therefore, in 1215, at the time of the session of that council, Latin prayers were not obligatory; and yet Papists would have us believe that this usage has prevailed in the church from time immemorial.

*Papal supremacy*, by virtue of which the bishop of Rome pretends that all Christendom should acknowledge his authority, was also established by the same council, in 1115. This decree was confirmed by the Council of Trent, and to this day it is a point which Papists specially endeavor to sustain.

The *seven sacraments* date back only to the year 1247; and this is the highest antiquity that can be ascribed to them. The subject was agitated in the century previous, and also in a preceding council this number had been proposed, but no decisive action was taken on them till the year 1447, a short time after the reunion of the Council of Trent.

*Communion with one element*, by which the cup is interdicted to the laity, was not established as an article of faith before the year 1414. We need not say the Romish Church still persists in this practice.

*Purgatory* is an invention unthought of till the seventh century; two hundred years after, this doctrine was received by only a small number of Christians; in 1146 it had but few advocates, and it was not till the year 1438 that it received the sanction of a general council. It is even true that there had never been any thing like a harmonious and unanimous agreement upon this point previous to the Council of Trent.

*Indulgences* were entirely unknown for many centuries. On this point there is no question; and it was only after the introduction of the doctrine of purgatory that the sale of indulgences was authorized by the Romish Church.

The *apocryphal books* were not admitted into the canon of the Scriptures until the year 1546, after the Council of Trent had pronounced in their favor. Romish doctors were not ignorant that these books were not credible, as they had been rejected by the Jews, as well as by the primitive church; but these books were necessary to give some consistency to their new Papal doc-

\* Vide Coleman's Christian Antiquities, art., "Private penance."—Tr.

trines; and this was the reason they were received into the sacred canon.

The *necessity of the intention of the priest for the validity of the sacraments* was decreed in 1547 by the Council of Trent. According to the Romish notion no sacrament has any value until the priest or bishop who administers it has really attached, in his intention, the effects which depend upon it; and thus they subordinate the merit and value of the divine institution to the caprice of a mortal. We need not look beyond the time of the Council of Trent for the date of this antichristian system.

Such are the doctrines which constitute Papacy. We see clearly by their respective dates that they are only a false coin, stamped too late, and which were absolutely unknown in the primitive church. We sometimes hear it said, Papists have preserved many doctrines which are common both to them and to Protestants; we admit that some of them do agree, from the fact of their relation to some of the truths of Scripture; but what we call Papacy is the new system established by Pius IV., and this system annihilates all the other doctrines the Church of Rome may profess. These doctrines, as we have seen, are so recent that it is easy for us to fix the precise date of their introduction. They were not received before the times specified in the preceding enumeration; and they were only imposed under pain of damnation by the Council of Trent. The very points which compose the Papal system, and which constitute the new creed, were condemned by many ancient councils before Papacy had an existence. We can rightly apply to the Church of Rome the words of Bildad, "For we are but of yesterday," Job viii, 9. Papacy, it is evident after the above exposition, is only a kind of inlaid work. The pieces and bits of which it is composed have been arranged, some by such and such a pope or council, others by other popes and councils. At last the Council of Trent gave the finishing touch, adding some new pieces, and re-examining those which had been arranged in earlier times.

It is therefore without a shadow of a doubt that, on the one hand, for many centuries after the commencement of the Christian era, there had not been even a thought in the church of any of these peculiar dogmas which constitute Papacy; and, on the other hand, that many of these dogmas were not finally consecrated previous to the time of the Council of Trent. It was at that memorable epoch that the Papal Church filled up the measure of its iniquity by attributing to mere human traditions the same authority as to the word of God. What is the effect of tradition, if it is not the source



of all error? Indeed, if a time can be established when tradition ought to be received, there is no doctrine, be it ever so false, which cannot be sustained. Every thing the pope is pleased to imagine and enjoin, is regarded by Papists as an apostolical tradition.

Meanwhile, the poor Papists are constantly taught to believe that the doctrines of their church are ancient; that they are the very truth itself. But we challenge the advocates of Popery to show us a member of the Christian church who, during the first six centuries, was a Papist in the strict sense of the word; that is to say, who believed all the doctrines maintained at this day by the Romish Church. There is not one point, except that of the Trinity, in which the partizans of Rome do not differ from the primitive church. How, then, dare any one say that Papacy is the religion of Jesus Christ, when it would be an impossibility to connect these principles with any of the doctrines, to any of the words, of our Lord? We sometimes hear it affirmed, that as the Papists preserve the three creeds,\* they preserve thereby the truth itself; but, let it not be forgotten, they also adopt another creed, that of Pius IV., which contradicts the others. It is proper to remark, moreover, as regards this last creed, it is a proof of the craft and deceit peculiar to their system. At first they mingle its drapery with that of the apostles' in such a manner that the illiterate Papist cannot say where the one begins or the other ends; then they prudently avoid speaking of this new creed when they engage in an attack upon Protestantism.

If Romish doctrines are true, of necessity those of Protestant churches are false. Both cannot be true at the same time, for they are contradictory. But Papists do not fail to advance that our doctrines were never mentioned before the Reformation. Very well; on this ground we desire to meet them. If the question is asked, How we wish to be tried? we reply, By the Bible, and by the Bible alone: Jesus Christ is our Master, and it is in the Bible that he has manifested his will. As Protestants we have nothing more at heart than to submit ourselves to its decisions; every thing which can be demonstrated from the sacred text we are ready to admit; but, at the same time, we have a right to reject all that is not based on the true meaning of the text.

But what say the Papists? "No, we do not wish the Bible alone to be our judge; tradition also, tradition ought to decide the dispute." True tradition would be all in our favor; but, we ask, what need is there of having recourse to tradition when we have the written word of God? Tradition, according to Papists, is made up of all

\* The Apostles', the Athanasian, and the Nicene Creeds.—*Tr.*

those things that Christ said to his apostles, and which have not been recorded in the Bible. But, we assert, all that is necessary is contained in the Scriptures; there is nothing that has been revealed to the apostles which is not found in the Bible; and we maintain that not a single article of faith can be established except on the authority of the Scriptures. To this trial Papists will not submit. And why do they refuse? Does it not indicate the irresistible conviction that the Bible is not favorable to them? An ancient author calls heretics *Scripturarum lucifugas*,—those who wish to divest themselves of the light of the Scriptures. On this account Papists are the worst of all heretics, for they reject the Bible, and wish to replace it with the vain traditions of men subject to error.

As Protestants, truth is the object of our investigation; and never do we seek to avoid discussion, never have we recourse to shameful trickery, to base expedients. Truth demands the exercise of reason; but the Papist drags reason to the feet of the pope, and there they hold it prostrate. "Abjure," says he, "abjure reason and submit to the church." Yes, the Church of Rome flees the truth, and we are able, by consequence, to apply to her the forcible language of Paul, "For this cause God shall send them strong delusions, that they should believe a lie," &c., 2 Thess. ii, 11. And is it not in reality to obey the spirit of error for them to prostrate their bodies before the host, as if that piece of bread was the true God? They esteem most those things which are pure fabrications. Is it not a fabrication that saints and angels, before God, make intercession for sinners who are on earth, when God has said, "Come to me;" and when we are invited to "come boldly to a throne of grace?" Is it not a fabrication that merit is attributed to our works, in the eyes of God? Is it not a fabrication to suppose that men can do more than God requires; and, by consequence, to amass for those who have need, when we are assured, that after all we have done we are only unprofitable servants? Is not the descent of souls into purgatory a fabrication? Yes, all these are the inventions which the word of God condemns, and which Papists, notwithstanding, believe. Is there truly any error more deplorable than that in which they persist to remain?

It is now time to reply to a very common objection of Papists. They pretend that in condemning their church, we condemn all who have lived prior to the Reformation, and have died in the communion of the Church of Rome. How can we reply to this otherwise than by an explicit denial of the fact? Papacy, it is well known, had not become a fixed system, had not received the

finishing touch till 1564, at the Council of Trent: the state of the Romish Church during the ages which preceded this council was very different from what it is at the present day. Before the epoch above mentioned, the new doctrines of Papacy were not necessarily, nor universally received. They were not forbidden, for example, to discuss the doctrines of the church, and they did discuss them; but now they have become obligatory, and whoever hesitates to receive them, from that moment ceases to be a Papist. Now the Church of Rome and Papacy are one and the same thing, formerly it was otherwise; for before the decisions of the Council of Trent a man could be a member of the Romish Church, that is to say, in the communion of that church, and yet object to many articles of her creed; but at the present day this cannot be done. Therefore, before the Reformation, there were some faithful Christians in the pale of the Romish Church, but who abjured her errors. They wept in secret, they awaited their deliverance, and the hour of their deliverance sounded at the Reformation. But, it is asked perhaps, why did they not immediately and openly leave the communion of the church? Why? Because they were retained by the sword of authority, the sword which the church wields, and which she draws against all who are suspected of holding Protestant sentiments. Thus, until our reformers separated themselves from modern Romanism, Papacy and the true church remained united in the bonds of a visible communion. Among the things which appertain to the true church, many have also been preserved by the Romish, as the Scriptures and the sacraments; but as the patrimony of the church, they have been the inheritance of the reformers. In the same manner that the ancient Jews preserved pure the deposit of the law and the prophets, and transmitted them in all their integrity to the Christian church, the Christian church also, despite of the corruption which crept into her bosom, has preserved the Scriptures, the creeds, and many portions of the truth, even down to the Reformation. And in this divine Providence is displayed in a remarkable manner.

Such was the state of things before the Reformation. The truths which faithful Christians maintained before that revolution, are the same now; they are those which compose in our day the doctrines of Protestant churches. There is between the reformed church and the Church of Rome the difference that is found in a well-cultivated field, and a field covered with weeds; or between Naaman cured and Naaman the leper. The reformers separated themselves from Papacy, and not from the church. The church, it is true, had almost disappeared under the Papal doctrines which



obscured it ; but Papacy was not the church, it was only a malady that infested the church. The vitiated part was cut off at the Reformation, and, by consequence, Papacy is not now a part of the church. Before this glorious event the church held the same relation to Papacy as does grain to the tares in the midst of which it grows, or to the husk that envelops it. It is a fact, that in the darkest times there were some faithful Christians, and these constituted the true church. God has never left himself without a witness ; and even in the worst epochs of the history of the Jews, when the prophet thought that he was almost the only faithful one, he yet found seven thousand men who had not bowed the knee to Baal. The promise is not that the church shall be numerous, but that she shall never perish ; the promise is not that the truths of the church shall be universally received, but that there will always be those who will receive them in sincerity of heart. Augustine compares the church to the queen of night, whose disk increases and diminishes alternately ; and she is eclipsed sometimes, yet no one can doubt her existence. The moon is not always full, and the church does not always shine in the brightness of her glory.

Despite the pretensions of the Papal party, we maintain, and can prove, that it is our religion, and not theirs, which is the ancient religion, the religion of Jesus Christ. Our doctrines are those that were taught by the Saviour himself, and are those contained in all the books of the Bible.

“ But,” it is said, “ Papists admit the Bible.” True ; but they admit also many other things which we look for in vain in the Scriptures, and which are in palpable contradiction to the sacred book. Therefore they virtually reject the Bible. The words of Pope Pius IV., and the word of God, are in direct opposition ; accordingly it is not acknowledged as the only rule of faith, for the Papists know too well that the Bible and their new creed are at variance with each other. Papacy overthrows the foundation of faith ; not, it is true, in express terms, but not the less really, by loading it with superstitions which endanger it, and expose its security. Is not the great doctrine of justification by faith alone annihilated by the views of Papists respecting the personal merits of men ? Does not the all-sufficiency of Christ’s atonement disappear by the side of the sacrifice of the mass ? Does not the satisfaction for sin by the great expiation of Jesus fail by reason of the doctrine of purgatory ? In fine, what becomes of the mediation of our Saviour, by the side of prayers addressed to saints, angels, and to the Virgin Mary ?

There is not a single article of the Romish doctrine that is not contradicted by the Holy Scriptures; as it is easy for any one to satisfy himself by referring to the texts we are about to name.

The indifference they manifest toward the Bible is contrary to the Scriptures: John v, 39; 2 Tim. iii, 16, 17, and many other passages.

The invocation of saints is contrary to the Scriptures: Matt. xi, 27, 28; John vi, 37; xiv, 13; xvi, 23, 24; Acts iv, 12; x, 25, 26; xiv, 13-15; Rom. viii, 27; Eph. iii, 12; Col. ii, 18; 1 Tim. ii, 5; 1 John ii, 1, 2.

The worship of images is contrary to the Bible: Lev. xxvi, 1; Deut. iv, 15, 16; v, 7, 8; x, 20; Josh. xl, 18-20; Micah v, 13; Matt. iv, 10; Rev. xix, 10.

Communion with one element is contrary to the Scriptures: Matt. xxvi, 26-28; Luke xxii, 19, 20; 1 Cor. xi, 26-28.

Purgatory is inconsistent with the Scriptures: Gal. iii, 13; Heb. i, 3; ix, 14; x, 10; Rom. v, 1, 2, 10, 11; Rev. xiv, 13.

Transubstantiation is contrary to the word of God: Luke xxii, 17-20; 1 Pet. iii, 18; 1 Cor. xi, 26.

Indulgences are at war with the Scriptures: Heb. xx, 10-21; ix, 24-28; vii, 25.

Prayers in a language not understood is contrary to the Bible: 1 Cor. xiv, 2.

Auricular confession at the feet of a priest is contrary to the word of truth: Isa. lv, 7; Acts ii, 38; iii, 19; xvi, 31; Rom. x, 19.

But that our readers may be, if possible, still more convinced that Papists hold doctrines subversive of evangelical faith, we will place before them in parallel lines some of the dogmas of the Romish Church, and the declarations of the Holy Scriptures in relation to them:—

According to the Romanists, Papacy is the foundation rock of the church.

But the Bible declares Jesus Christ is the only true foundation. Matt. xvi, 18; 1 Cor. iii, 11.

They maintain that the Scriptures are not sufficient to teach the way of salvation.

But the Bible assures us they are all-sufficient. 2 Tim. iii, 15-17.

According to the Papists, the Virgin Mary was exempt from original sin.

But the Scriptures declare that all men are sinners, without exception. Rom. v, 12, 18.

They maintain that the body of Jesus Christ is present in the sacrament of the eucharist.

But the Bible declares that his body was in all respects like ours, sin alone excepted.\* Heb. iv, 15.

\* Hence it follows, from the declarations of the Bible, either the body of Christ cannot be present in the sacrament, or it cannot be like ours.

According to Papists the priest can recover souls from purgatory.

Papists teach that the flames of purgatory, as well as our own satisfactions, can drive away the uncleanness of sin.

According to the Romish Church, man is formally justified by works.

Papists prescribe certain penances by which they expect the pardon of their sins.

Papists teach that some sins are venial, and others are mortal; and that a little holy water, and certain ceremonies, are sufficient to efface the former.

Papists affirm that the sacrifice is daily repeated in the celebration of each mass.

The Church of Rome teaches that we may dispense with all faith toward heretics, and that the most solemn engagements ought to be violated for the good of the church.

Thus if we compare the doctrines of Papists with the Holy Scriptures, it is impossible not to be struck with the diametrical opposition that exists between them. There is *one* argument which the uneducated Protestant can employ, and the wisest Papist cannot refute it. The process is very simple, and the success is infallible,—*It is an undeniable truth that all who become Papists commence to contemn the Bible, and place more confidence in the word of a priest than in the word of God.*

We sometimes hear even Protestants affirm that the Church of Rome is the true church, and that her members are Christians. But can those well claim the title of Christians who hold opinions that are contradictory to the Bible? Papists entertain doctrines which Christ never taught, how then can they be regarded as the followers of Christ?

If Protestants would weigh well these reflections, if they would

But the Scriptures declare, in the most positive manner, that Christ is the only Redeemer. Acts iv, 12.

Protestants believe, on the authority of the Bible, that the blood of Christ can alone wash away the sins of men. 1 Pet. i, 18-23.

But the Bible affirms, many times and oft, that it is by faith, and faith alone, that we are justified. Rom. iii, 28.

Protestants believe that Jesus Christ was wounded for our transgressions, and that it is by the stripes and bruises he received that we are healed. Isa. liii, 5.

Protestants, on the authority of the Scriptures, believe that every sin merits eternal death. Gal. iii, 10; Rom. vi, 23.

Protestants found their hope of safety upon a single sacrifice once offered by our Lord Jesus Christ. Heb. vii, 27, 28.

Protestants think that a promise or an oath is a sacred thing; and an indissoluble obligation is imposed on the conscience. Eph. iv, 25; Zech. viii, 17.



verify them, Bible in hand, there is not a priest that can mislead them. The examination to which we have now devoted ourselves will show every thing that is erroneous or false in the assertions of the Romish Church relative to its antiquity. We think we have clearly demonstrated that the Reformation is only the restoration of the church in all its primitive purity, in doctrine as well as worship. The reader will not fail to perceive, also, that previous to the Council of Trent a man could be in the communion of the church without belonging to that Papacy which is only a faction in the bosom of the church. After the decisions of that assembly the faction embraced the whole Church of Rome. Formerly it was permitted to protest against errors ; now all the doctrines must be admitted—doctrines of such a kind that the only conclusion to which we can arrive is, that no one can be in the communion of that corrupt church without exposing his immortal soul. The doctrines of Rome are new, opposed to the Scriptures, idolatrous, and, consequently, cannot be admitted without compromising our eternal safety. Whatever may have been the state of things before the Council of Trent, the Church of Rome, since the acts of that assembly, has ceased to be a branch of the true church. She has not done well to deck herself with the title of “the church of Christ;” as she teaches doctrines fundamentally false, she can only usurp a sacred title to which she has no right. She might properly be called the church of the pope, or the church of Satan ; as she teaches doctrines which can only be the work of the father of lies ; but the church of Christ ! No, no, a thousand times.

However, we will pray with no less devotion or fervor for our Papal brethren ; we will not cease earnestly to entreat the Lord that it may please him to pluck out from their hearts the lie which has taken root there. May he, in his gracious and infinite mercy, shed his Holy Spirit upon the Papal Church, disabuse her of the shameful train of saints, images, relics, and penances, and lead her to Christ, the only hope of the sinner, who alone is able to conduct him in safety through life, and to the bright realms of bliss !

ART. VII.—1. *A Treatise on the Millennium.* By GEORGE BUSH, A. M.

2. *Sentiments concerning the Coming and Kingdom of Christ.* By JOSHUA SPALDING, Minister of the Gospel in Salem.

WE know no better reason for associating these two works at the head of our article than the fact that they wholly disagree with each other; and no better reason for our reviewing them than the fact that we agree with neither, and would hope to refute them both. The former, we need not say, is the production of no ordinary master of Biblical criticism; and the latter is one of the ablest, as well as earliest written works issued on this side of the Atlantic in favor of the doctrines of modern Chiliasm.

Professor Bush is one of the noble phalanx of scholars who have given a high stand to American Biblical literature, and whose fair fame is the sacred property of our American Protestant church; and we have no intention to diminish its amount, by depreciating his reputation. Had we indeed the wish, such productions as his commentaries on several of the books of the Old Testament, particularly the one upon Exodus, would haply defy our powers of depreciation; and would he but walk, in the same style, through the books of the entire Old Testament, he would leave behind him a noble monument of piety and learning. In all his productions we have recognized a high union of patient research, with a sound and logical judgment; and if we, in a great degree, except the volume at the head of our article from this commendation, it would, of course, be merely one way of saying that we differ *toto coelo* with the professor in most of his processes and results.

His book is not so much a treatise upon a doctrine as an exegesis upon a text. He does profess, in heroic opposition to a "throned opinion," that the millennium is past; but then he means not the popular millennium of our churches, *the conversion of the world*, but the *χιλια ετη*, the philological *millennium* of the twentieth chapter of Revelation. These are in his view two very different things; the former of which not only does he deny to be past, but he denies that it ever will be past. He believes in a perpetual millennium on a perpetual earth. In this sense he is not only millennial in his theory, but ultra-millennial, nay, extra-millennial. Whether, therefore, he can lay claim to independence of opinion, or must lie under the charge of heresy, it will not be so much in regard to the millennium as in regard to the conse-

quences which his theory produces upon the doctrine of a judgment day. We are not particularly fearful that the professor will prove either a heretic or a heresiarch, and do not intend to press him with any supposed consequences of his scheme. Believing with him that the twentieth chapter of Revelation, the stronghold of Chiliasm in all ages, is a most important passage, we think it might be of some service if any contributions can be made toward a conclusive settlement of its meaning.

The general outlines of his theory, and the logical dependence of its parts, may be very briefly stated. The binding and incarceration of Satan, though occurring late in the narrative, transpired centuries ago, and are nothing other than the downfall of paganism under Constantine and his successors. The old serpent, the devil of the twentieth chapter, is not the personal devil, the arch tempter of all mankind, and therefore his binding and banishment are not the overthrow of the general principle of universal evil and the millennium of the church and world. The dragon of the twentieth chapter being identical with the great red dragon with seven heads and ten horns of the twelfth chapter, who is a mere symbol of paganism, is nothing but "paganism personified;" and his incarceration is the long past suppression of idolatry in the Christian world. Such being the theory, it seems to us nearly as brief a matter to refute as to state. The whole depends upon the question, whether the dragon of the twentieth chapter be a mere impersonal symbol, or the real individual Satan.

Now we see no difficulty whatever in supposing the apocalyptic Satan may be both a *representative of a principle* and a *personal being*. When paganism embodied the great ALL of the depravity of the whole world in its own stupendous self, it was most fitly represented by the devil *in person*. When the whole world was wrapped in paganism, the proper representative of paganism was the god of this world. And as in the great battle of the twelfth chapter Christianity is identified as anti-paganism, so the battle is fought by the two great *personal* leaders and representatives, Christ, born of a woman, and the devil in his pagan guise; and as the same anti-pagan man-child of the twelfth chapter appears as the great millennial champion of the human race in the nineteenth chapter, so his victory is gloriously completed by the overthrow of Satan as the great adversary of the human race in the twentieth chapter. If the personal is not merged in the symbolical character in the case of Christ, we see not why it should be in the case of Satan.

That the sacred writer takes particular care to preserve the personal individuality of Satan under his symbolical guise, Professor



Bush gives a very satisfactory testimony. "As a magistrate in making out a warrant for the apprehension of a villain who had palmed himself upon the public by different names, would be careful to specify them all by the prefix of an *alias*, so the Spirit, in the present instance, studiously specifies the various designations of this grand adversary, as if to preclude the possibility of mistake. 'The great dragon, *alias* the old serpent, *alias* the devil, *alias* Satan—by whatever appellation he may be distinguished, here he is, you may know him by his escutcheon.'" Why, then, we ask, if he be the real *personal* devil, does Professor Bush, at the very moment the officer of divine Justice has "laid hold on the dragon," stand by, and exclaim, "No, this is not the real old serpent, the devil, the arch enemy of all the human race; it is only '*paganism personified*!'" Why should the professor attempt to rescue him from his true deserts, by affirming that his special pagan habiliments, and apparatus of heads, and horns, and crowns, disproved his identity? And if, through all his various masquerades and metamorphoses, of which his pagan phase was but one, he is still the same immutable devil, why may not the angel bind him as the great author of evil to the human race, and introduce the millennium into the earth by casting him out of it? To us the conclusion seems inevitable.

But granting to the professor the immutable truth of his postulate, that the dragon is "*a standing symbol of paganism*," or "*paganism personified*"—the admission is fatal to his theory. For then, what is signified by this long incarceration and subsequent liberation of the pagan dragon? The former, he expressly tells us, is "a figurative mode of announcing the suppression of paganism, for a definite period of years—its banishment from the bounds of Christendom during the period specified." His release, then, can be nothing else than this same paganism revived. "The dragon," he tells us, "is paganism; *his deceiving the nations is his seducing them into idolatry*, and the consequence of his being bound is a happy immunity from his diabolical arts by those who were formerly his victims." When, then, at the close of the thousand years, paganism comes forth and deceives the nations by "*seducing them into idolatry*,"—Gog and Magog, numerous as the sands of the sea—who, according to the professor, are these countless hosts of armed pagans? They are—will our readers believe it?—that horde of the most fierce exterminators of paganism that ever held a sword—the Turks! The fiercest theists that ever lived are Professor Bush's pagan Gog and Magog. The creed of these pagans was, "*There is one God, and Mohammed is his prophet*;"

their argument was the sabre, and their bloody mission was to exterminate idolatry from the earth.

If it be replied, (the only hint upon this point we can find in his book,) that the ancestors of the Ottomans were once pagan hordes of the north, such an evasion will complete the fate of this theory. We will not reply now that the emancipated dragon "*deceives*," that is, as the professor defines it, "*seduces them into idolatry*," and that, therefore, in strictness, they must be previous anti-pagans then and there by him converted to paganism. But is the fact that the theistic Ottomans were the posterity of ancient pagan nations sufficient to place them under the auspices of the dragon as their demon? Then, as the ancestry of every nation of the earth has been pagan, the dragon may be the arch fiend of all nations, the personal devil. If he come up from the pit ready to be the inspirer of the Ottoman tribes, he may have descended into it as the great tempter of any and all other tribes, and his banishment may be the last stroke that emancipates the world from the dominion of depravity.

Such, then, is the solemn verdict which we are in conscience obliged to pronounce upon this well-elaborated theory. It is based upon a shadow, its contradictory parts mutually explode each other, and the very evasions that should prop, completely undermine it. At the same time we see nothing in the common view for which the apostle's language has not made ample provision. When it is affirmed, that under his dragon form he is personally "*that old serpent, the devil, and Satan which deceiveth the whole world*," it is denied that he is, like the beast, a mere figment of the imagination, created for a present symbolical purpose; and it is asserted that he has a personal history; a history beginning before his fall from his angelic state, including his authorship of the ruin of our race, and extending onward to the "*judgment of the great day*," to which he is "*reserved*." His pagan dominion and battle is but one chapter in the arch fiend's history; his dragon shape is but one of the mutations of the great diabolical Proteus. Arrayed in all the symbols of pagan imperial Rome, the ten horns and seven crowned heads, (chap. xii,) he breaks upon the vision, solely as the great red dragon; nor is it until cast down to earth that he is designated by all his *personal* names and titles. Confounded with his pagan overthrow, he retires from view—"wroth with the woman, he went to make war with her seed"—still acting as the invisible prince of the power of the air, until he reappears in the twentieth chapter, to complete, by his exile, the liberation of mankind. His subordinate and successor, the Papal beast, instantly rises as he retires, endowed heir to all his Roman symbols of horns, heads,

and crowns, until his own final overthrow. It is not said, when Satan reappears, that he possesses the Roman emblems, or the dragon shape; and he is then specified by one of his *aliases*, as *dragon*, only to identify him. When, at the close of the thousand years, he emerges from the bottomless pit, the last vestige even of the name of dragon has disappeared; and in that part of the text, as well as in that part of the professor's commentary, he is no longer the Roman pagan *dragon*, but *Satan*, the deceiver of "*the nations*." With what propriety indeed could the animating genius of the Ottomans wear the seven heads and crowns, the insignia and regalia of imperial pagan Rome? We see not, therefore, the slightest shadow of proof, that his temporary dragon form forbids our settled belief in the real personality and the future millennial incarceration of the apocalyptic Satan.

To the copious philological details with which Professor Bush's rich scholarship adorns his pages and illustrates his theory, as well as to the arguments which Mr. Spalding and the Chiliasts of the day advance in favor of their hypothesis, we shall administer some occasional notices while we attempt to give this much-contested and very important passage a new exposition. We say a new exposition, for though it may ultimately bring us to essentially the same result in regard to the future millennium, as the common view of the church generally at the present day, (very ably stated in Dr. Scott's commentary on the passage,) yet the *modus interpretandi* will, we trust, be such as to elude the objections which the advocates of Chiliasm advance against the common exposition. We make no pretensions to the dignity of a theory; on the contrary, we claim to be, not only rigid literalists, but unsparing iconoclasts—ruthless demolishers of all theories. We wish to strip the passage of all the superincumbent strata which ingenious men have deposited all round it, and come down to the plainest and most obvious literal meaning of the text. The advocates of Chiliasm boast of being, by eminence, *the literalists*; if therefore we detect them in unnatural figure, and show them both a more natural and more literal mode, they are bound either to give up their boast or adopt our exposition. To Professor Bush we object that upon one of the most simple-hearted and inartificial of writers, his explanation of words and phrases is too subtle and far-fetched. He seems to prefer the refined and the recondite to the simple and the obvious. We are sometimes inclined to suspect that too acute a philologist is a bad judge of the natural force of human language, just as too abstract a metaphysician is often the worst judge of human character.



We claim to be literalists. The Christian public are greatly indebted to Professor Stuart for the powerful and persevering manner in which he has maintained the principle that the Biblical writers are to be interpreted on the same principles as any other authors; and that no interpretation which violates the known principles of grammar and lexicography, can for a moment be allowed as legitimate. Many expositors, especially of prophecy, interpret Scripture language in a manner which they would condemn as disingenuous, if practised upon their own compositions. Should the words of a debater in Congress, for instance, be construed in a manner violating both grammar and English philology; should his sentences be capriciously resolved into figure, his paragraphs be transposed in their order, or his words be strained into rare and far-fetched meanings, he would reply, not so much by disproving the logic, as by denouncing the dishonesty of such a perversion. Undoubtedly, different styles have their own specific principles, but no author would desire his words to be interpreted without a conformity to the three following principles:—1. No word should be taken in an unusual meaning where the more common signification makes good sense. 2. No transposition of paragraphs or sentences should be made for which the author furnishes no authority, where his own order presents a consistent connection. 3. The rule of Hooker, "I hold it for a most infallible rule, that where a literal construction will stand the furthest from the letter is worst;" or, in other words, the literal meaning is to be presumed unless the connection or style compel a figurative.

And tried by these simple principles, we hesitate not to say that the Chiliastic interpretation of this passage scarce needs an argument to refute it. That interpretation is briefly as follows:—The destruction of the wicked being described, and the simultaneous conflagration of the world being supposed in the nineteenth chapter, the twentieth chapter opens with the binding of Satan and the resurrection of the saints, who, in their glorified bodies, reign with Christ upon the new earth, of which the twenty-first chapter is an appended description. This is the first resurrection. At the close of the thousand years Satan goes forth from the bottomless pit, accompanied by the souls of the wicked, which, uniting with the burnt ashes of their bodies lying on the soil of the new earth, form the armies of Gog and Magog. This is the second resurrection. This construction creates a great embarrassment with the judgment scene which follows, which different authors dispose of in different ways. But it must suffice us to say that the usual mode is to make

chapter xx, verses 1-10, and verses 12-15, to be coincident descriptions of the same thing; while chapter xxi is to be interpolated into the fourth verse of the twentieth chapter.

Now for all this transposition there is no authority, and it makes the passage contradictory. That the twenty-first chapter should succeed the close of the twentieth, and not precede it, is plain. At the close of the twentieth chapter the dead rise from the "sea," and it must be not until after that passage that (chap. xx, 1) "*there is no more sea.*" Again, it is at the close of the twentieth chapter, that "the last enemy, death, is destroyed," and it must be not until after this that (chap. xxi, 1) "*there shall be no more death.*" But even did not these and other contradictions exist, this transposition is a plain and presumptuous violation of a true principle of interpretation. No transposition of the order of paragraphs should be allowed where the author's own order makes sense. And that the passage in the author's own order makes a perfectly plain sense no reader will deny. We shall endeavor to refute these theories further, mainly by sustaining our own exposition.

I. It is plain, then, in the first place, from the very letter of the passage, that *the nations of the earth are existing in their successive generations through the whole of this thousand years.*—A great massacre is indeed described in the previous (nineteenth) chapter, but a comparison of the two paragraphs (verses 11-16 and 17-21) of that description, will show that in the former is detailed the reduction, by both moral and forcible means, of the nations generally to the gospel sway of Christ, and in the latter the battle and massacre of the armies of antichrist.

In the first paragraph, the symbolical heavens open, and Christ descends. This epiphany is so precisely similar to his appearance in chap. vi, 2, that they must be events of the same nature; and as the latter describes, according to the best commentators, not his second advent, but his coming in the power of his gospel and overruling providence, so must the former.

Chap. iv, 1 : After this I looked, and behold a door was opened in heaven.

Chap. vi, 2 : And I saw, and behold a white horse : and he that sat on him had a bow ; and a crown was given unto him : and he went forth conquering, and to conquer.

Chap. xix, 11 : And I saw heaven opened, and behold a white horse ; and he that sat upon him was called Faithful and True ; and in righteousness he doth judge and make war.

Distinguished by his attributes, "Faithful and True," clothed in "a vesture dipped in" atoning "blood," followed by his ministry, typified as the "armies of heaven," his war is a war of righteousness, and his name is his gospel name, "THE WORD OF GOD." "Out of his mouth" (not in his hand) "goeth a sharp sword"—for "the word of God is sharper than any two-edged sword." *With it he should* (not destroy, but) *smite* THE NATIONS; for "the Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him; with righteousness shall he judge the poor; he shall *smite the earth with the rod of his mouth; and the wolf shall dwell with the lamb,*" &c., Isa. xi. "He shall rule" (ποιμανει, tend them as a shepherd) "the nations with a rod" (or shepherd's crook) "of iron." Uniting judgment with mercy, he shall "tread the winepress of the wrath of God" until he attain visibly the character of "King of kings and Lord of lords." But since *to smite* does not signify to exterminate, but to chastise; and since *to rule* does not signify to slay, and since a *shepherd* uses his crook not to slaughter, but to control his flock, so it is clear that, according to this paragraph, Christ does not exterminate, but he chastises, subdues, and rules "THE NATIONS."

In the second paragraph is described the battle and extermination of the armies gathered to make war against him that sat on the horse. An angel first stands in the sun, and calls all the fowls of heaven to devour them, kings and captains, riders and horses, free and bond; the beast and false prophet are cast into hell, and *the remnant of the loipoi, the rest, were slain.* The terms of universality (*men both*) in verse 18, are supplied by the translators, and the comprehension of all the terms used includes only *antichrist and his armies*, without implying any destruction of "THE NATIONS."

"The nations" then being undestroyed, we come into the twentieth chapter, where Satan is laid hold on, cast out, shut up, locked, and sealed; and for what purpose? *That he should deceive* THE NATIONS *no more until the thousand years should be fulfilled.* And who are "the nations," to prevent his deceiving whom, Satan is so forcibly banished? Any one who has no system to support, would, of course, reply, that they are the still living "nations" of the nineteenth chapter. Will the Chiliast say that "the nations" are the dead bodies of the wicked, lying as ashes upon the soil of the new earth? Then Satan must either be in danger of raising their dead bodies—for which Christ alone has power—or he must deceive their insensible mouldering ashes; either of which notions is too ludicrous for argument. Will he say that they are the souls of the wicked? But, according to Chiliasm, their souls are sur-



rendered over to him, and with him are sealed in hell. Will he say that they are the righteous in their resurrection bodies on the new earth? But these are past their day of probation, and no longer deceivable. Besides, he does come forth at the close of the thousand years and deceives "*the nations*." In verse 3, he is shut up, that he should deceive "*the nations*" no more until the thousand years are fulfilled; and then, verse 7, when the thousand years are expired, he goes out and deceives "*the nations*," Gog and Magog, and gathers them to battle against the righteous.

There is, then, but one possible conclusion. The great massacre of antichrist leaves undestroyed *τα εθνη* "THE NATIONS;" Satan is bound a thousand years, that he may not, for so long, deceive *τα εθνη* "THE NATIONS;" accordingly at its close he does come forth, and does deceive *τα εθνη* "THE NATIONS." What is plainer, then, than the fact that the nations shall roll on their uninterrupted generations, through the thousand years, until the final resurrection?

II. During the thousand years the apostle beheld not the *bodies*, but the *SOULS*, of them that were beheaded, &c.

Here undoubtedly the Greek *ψυχη* and our English *soul* are about as positive synonyms as the two languages can afford. This is usually the case, whether in the classic writers, in the New Testament, or in the Christian Greek of the early fathers. The first paragraph of Homer tells the scholar that the wrath of Achilles sent the souls (*ψυχας*) of heroes to hades, and gave themselves, that is, their bodies, to the birds. The soul of Hector departed from his body "indignant at leaving so much strength and youth."

"Ψυχη δεκ ρεθων πταμενη αἰδοσδε βεβηκει  
'Ον ποτμον γοοωσα, λιπουσα αδροτητα και 'ηβην."

*Iliad*, xxi, 361.

Gregory Nyssen among the Greek fathers defines, *Η ψυχη ουσια τις εστιν ασωματος*, "the soul is a certain incorporeal substance." More fully Athanasius, *Η ψυχη της οικειας ενεργειας εχει της ψυχης προσηγοριαν*. *Ψυχειν γε το ζωοποιειν λεγεται δια τουτο εκ του ζωοποιου ενεργειας ψυχη λεγεται δια το σωμα ζωοποιειν*. "The soul has its name from the peculiar power of the soul. The verb *ψυχειν psychein* signifies to inspire with life; and the word *ψυχη psyche*, soul, is used from its life-giving power, because it vivifies the body." Hence the body is called by Chrysostom *οικια ψυχης*, "*the house of the soul*." From these, and many more extracts that might be given, it is plain that the Greek *ψυχη* designates the spiritual being which inhabits the body.

In precise accordance with this is the language of our Saviour, "Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the *soul*;" a full demonstration that after the body lies a dead corpse,—its bodily life being extinct—the soul (*ψυχη*) is still living. "It may be shown," says Professor Bush, "that the most appropriate term in Biblical Greek for the expression of this idea" (of umbræ or ghosts) "is *ψυχη*, answering to the Latin *anima*, soul, the word here employed." When, therefore, Professor Bush uses it in a different sense, he takes from it that meaning for which it is the most appropriate.

2. It is not necessary to deny that in Biblical Greek, as well as in English, by that figure which puts a part for the whole, the *soul* is put for the *whole person*. That this is a figurative use of the word is well said by an excellent authority, both in philosophy and in Greek, the Greek philosopher Plutarch: *Ψυχην και κεφαλην τον ανθρωπον ειωθαμεν απο των κυριωτατων υποκοριζεσθαι*. "We are accustomed to apply the affectionate epithets, *head and soul*, from the noblest parts to the whole person." This figure is much more frequent in the Hebrew corresponding word *נֶפֶשׁ* than in classical or New Testament Greek. With the adjective *νεκρῶς* the word sometimes signifies a dead person, and, strange to say, it is once or twice used by an ellipsis of the adjective to signify *a corpse*.\* This, by a bare verbal translation in the Septuagint, is translated by the word *ψυχη*; but that this Hebrew ellipsis has been adopted into the language of the New Testament or patristical Greek, is contrary to probability, and unsustained perhaps by any clear instance.

But before the literalist by profession can avail himself of these more remote and figurative meanings, he must show that the literal meaning makes not a good sense. He is absolutely debarred by Hooker's rule, "Where a literal construction will stand, the furthest from the letter is worst." The burden of proof rests upon him, that the passage literally taken is absurd, and unless he sustain it, let him renounce his boast of literalism.

But the proof positive from the passage itself lies perhaps mainly on the other side.

1. The question whether the body should be raised, in order, with the soul, to enjoy the future state, was one great point of contest between the Christian and the pagan world. Pagans sneered at the resurrection of the body, while they hoped the immortality of the soul; while Christianity, for centuries, fought for the doctrine of the resurrection, specifically of *the body*. Hence

\* See Gesenius in verbo.

how carefully and strenuously physical is the Biblical phraseology on this subject! Many *bodies* of the saints arose—though worms destroy this *body*, yet in my *flesh* shall I see God—the redemption of our *body*—it is sown a natural *body*, it is raised a spiritual *body*—quicken your mortal *bodies*—receive the things done in the *body*; and the apostles' creed is worded with the same precision—the *resurrection of the body*. St. John, a leader in this great moral battle, could not have been ignorant that *body* and *soul*, in the matter of the resurrection, were words of contest; nor could he, either willingly or inadvertently, have adopted the favorite watchword of paganism, and so have given color to their views, when, in fact, he meant to express the thing so carefully and constantly maintained by other inspired and Christian writers. It is utterly inadmissible, therefore, that he could have said *souls* when he meant *bodies*.

2. Unless he really meant *souls*, the word seems to be introduced either by blunder or purposely, to embarrass the meaning. It would have been a little easier, and far more natural, to have avoided the clumsy periphrasis, *ψυχας πεπελεκισμενων* *souls of the beheaded*, and to have said directly, *τους πεπελεκισμενους* *those beheaded*, or more precisely, *σωματα πεπελεκισμενων* *the bodies of those slain*. Those with whom we argue may be defied to produce a plausible reason for a circumlocution, which on their hypothesis is so utterly unnatural and unnecessary.

3. Whenever we understand, either in Greek or English, a person to be called a *soul*, the surrounding circumstances demonstrate such to be the application. Thus when Luke says, "And we were in all in the ship two hundred threescore and sixteen souls," the whole narrative of the shipwreck is of so corporeal a kind that no sane man doubts that men living in the body are meant. Not so the present passage. The apocalyptic writer is continually ranging through the world of spirits. He is speaking of the souls of men who *were dead*. While he beholds their *souls* alive, their *bodies* are *πεπελεκισμενων* *beheaded* with the axe; for, by the way, the Greek participle rendered *beheaded* is in the perfect; a tense whose specific purpose is to designate that the act remains, either in itself or its effects, to the present time. While their headless bodies, then, are lying upon the earth, the eye of the apocalyptic seer, ranging through the invisible world, so groups together those bodiless entities, Satan—the master spirit of evil—the angel, the impersonation of the gospel, and the glorified souls of martyred saints, in such an association as utterly forbids us to understand him in the material sense. He, therefore, who finds



here a bodily resurrection, must resign all claim to the title of literalist.

III. Of these souls the apostle affirms that they LIVED.

This life of the soul is the *vita beata*—by which it glows with bliss, and ever blooms and expands into an immortal growth and beauty—the principle of celestial life implanted by Christ in the glorified spirit, over and above its mere conscious existence.

It may go far toward settling this point to say that the word ζωή *life* is used many times in the writings of St. John, and in by far the majority of cases it is used in this sense. It is used twice in this chapter, (verses 12 and 15,) and both times in this sense; it is used fifteen times in Revelation, and every time in this sense. And so also the verb ζάω *zao*, to live, in nearly every instance of its use, denotes the principle of celestial life belonging to the beatified soul, in contradistinction to the eternal death of the damned. This alone can be the meaning of all those phrases occurring in these latter chapters of Revelation, *book of life*, *tree of life*, *water of life*, *bread of life*, *river of life*, *word of life*, *eternal life*, *life*.

This life, or living of the soul, it must be specially observed, is opposed, not to the annihilation of the soul, but to the death of the soul, the second death. The death of the body is not the annihilation of the body; nor is the annihilation of the body the proper opposite of the life of the body. Bodily life is opposed to bodily death, and the existence of the body is the proper opposite of its nonexistence or annihilation. So the death of the soul is not its extinction; on the contrary, the death of the soul implies its continued and conscious existence. But its death—the death that never dies—implies that it is blasted by the curse of God, writhing in ceaseless agony. On the contrary, the *life of the soul* is not only a continued existence, but a blissful exemption from eternal death, and the positive possession of the principle of a glorious immortality. This distinction is often expressed by the Greek Christian writers. Thus Chrysostom: 'Ὅταν ακουσης ὅτι θάνατος ψυχῆς μὴ νομῆσιν ψυχὴν ἀποθνήσκειν γὰρ ἀθάνατος ἐστὶ θάνατος γὰρ ψυχῆς ἁμαρτία καὶ κόλασις αἰώνια. "When thou hearest of the death of the soul, imagine not that the soul becomes extinct; the death of the soul is sin and eternal punishment." Hence he calls it ἀθάνατος θάνατος a deathless death. On the contrary, the intermediate state of the blessed soul, to which death immediately translates him, he styles life. Θάνατος μεταστάσις τις ἐστὶ τοῖς ἐναρετῶς βιῶνσιν ἀπο τῶν χειρόνων ἐπὶ τὰ βέλτιον ἀπο τῆς προσκαιροῦ ζωῆς ἐπὶ τὴν διηνεκή καὶ ἀθάνατον. "Death is a transition for the

virtuous from worse to better, from a temporal to a life eternal and immortal."

Life—eternal life—celestial life, according to St. John's peculiar use of terms, is a bestowment by Christ upon the soul of the believer; conferred really and irrevocably at his entrance into the future state, and finally consummated at the rising of his body to the resurrection of life; yet the pledge or germ is virtually and conditionally bestowed by faith upon the justified soul *in this life*. Eternal life, therefore, is implanted in the soul, and the soul passes from death unto life in this world. With St. John, therefore, the glorified life hereafter of the believer, and his justified life here, are different stages of the same thing.

Tholuck thus expresses this idea in his commentary on John v, 14 :—"The ζωή αἰώνιος eternal life is that sanctified life of the inward man in God, which shall be perfected in the future world, where all limitations are removed, but which *commences even here whenever man enters into union with the Redeemer* through faith. Consequently, Christ often declares that the man who is filled with faith enters *here already into this eternal life*. John v, 24. In other places, on the contrary, as here, he describes this ζωή αἰώνιος eternal life *as future*." Eternal life is to spiritual life what eternal death is to spiritual death, the same thing presented in a future world, in its consummated and permanent state.

Of the many proof-texts which show that *life* in the world to come and in the present are two states of the same thing, we may quote a few :—1. *That eternal life is essentially conferred upon the soul at its entrance into the invisible state.* "I give unto them eternal life, and they shall never perish," John x, 28. "He that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live; and whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall never die," John xi, 25, 26. In this text it is plain that the glorified and eternal life is spoken of, and it takes place while the man is dead. His body is dead, and his soul not merely exists, but lives a life of which faith is the condition, and believers the subjects. "They which receive abundance of grace and of the gift of righteousness, shall reign in life by one Jesus Christ," Rom. v, 17. 2. *This eternal life is, by anticipation and conditionally, bestowed in this world.* "He that believeth on me hath everlasting life," John vi, 47. "This is life eternal, to know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent," John xvii, 3. "He that heareth my words hath everlasting life," John v, 24. 3. *Sometimes both the present and future states are combined in one view.* "The water which I shall give him shall be in him a well of water springing up into everlast-

ing life," John iv, 14. As the fountain sends its gushing streams into the ocean, so does spiritual life lose itself in eternal life.

When, therefore, the apostle, looking into the invisible world, beholds the spirits of just men made perfect *LIVING*, he beholds but the consummation of that *LIFE* which he had often described, as initially belonging to the Christian on earth. His apocalypse presents that life in its triumphant state, which his gospels had so often described in the militant state. He exhibits here, in picture, what he had formerly announced in precept. And that this is the plain fact, we may make more evident when we treat upon the first resurrection.

Should an objector attempt to maintain that, after all, we are resorting to the figurative sense of the word *lived*, he should be careful what ground he assumes. For,—1. If it be true that the apostle scarcely ever uses the words *life*, and *live*, frequently as they occur, in any other sense, he should think whether that fact does not demand that this be the meaning here presumed. 2. When a term becomes by constant use idiomatic and technical, when it is the only word used, or which language affords to designate a given idea, let him consider well whether that word does not thereby become literal. 3. The objector may be very glad to forget the subject of which the apostle predicates this *life*. But be it not forgotten, it is not *life* alone, nor *life of bodies*, of which the apostle speaks, but the *LIFE OF SOULS*; and the *souls* too of *dead men*, martyrs to the truth. Now any objector may be defied to furnish any other meaning of *the life of a disembodied sainted spirit*, than the very meaning we have assigned. This is not only the literal meaning of the phrase, but the *only* literal meaning. 4. It is very strange that they who maintain that the living of "*souls*" means the living of bodies, should be the literalists, and we who maintain that the word *souls* means *souls*, should be the allegorists. Is not the celestial life of a spirit over and above its mere existence and in opposition to its eternal death a plain and substantive idea? And should it not have its proper term? And is there any more proper term, or more abundantly Scriptural, or more strictly literal in all language for this simple idea than *life*? Is *THE LIVING GOD* a figure of speech? Just as when a naturalist asserts of a flower, that it has not merely, like a stone, an inanimate existence, but a truly vegetable *life*, he borrows from the animal world, and applies, not allegorically but scientifically, the most proper term which language affords to designate an immaterial but real element; so the apostle, when he predicates life of the paradisaic soul, in contradistinction to the eternal death of the



damned ghost, literally applies to a simple and substantive idea, just the most appropriate term which language affords. Surely that must be the truest, most essential life; of which, indeed, all other life is but the figure and the shadow.

For the primal sentence, *thou shalt surely die*, included the fullness of death upon the whole man and upon his everlasting being. It terminated a life of which our bodily life is but a shadow, and the death it inflicted is a death of which organic destruction is but one of the phenomena. It manifests itself, indeed, in the body by decay and dissolution, which is *the first death*; it manifests itself in the soul by spiritual depravity and eternal misery in the world to come, which is *the second death*. By Christ both these deaths may be reversed; by a revival of the soul to a prospective celestial life here, to be exalted and perpetuated in a glorified state hereafter, which is *the first resurrection*; and by a revival and reorganization of the body to an eternal union with the soul, which is *the second resurrection*.

The exposition of the word "*lived*" which we have given, is so plain and obvious, that it probably would never be doubted, were it not for some apparent difficulties in the fifth verse, where it is said, "But the rest of the dead lived not again until the thousand years were finished." Upon these words are founded two objections: 1. It is said that the wicked dead "*lived not again*;" the word *again* implying repetition, clearly shows that it is a life which the wicked have once lived, which can only be bodily life. 2. Again, when it is said, they lived not again "until the thousand years were finished," it implies that the wicked would live this life at the close of the thousand years, which proves it to be physical life. To these difficulties Professor Bush's answers are excellent.

To the first objection he replies:—

"We are aware, indeed, that the phrase '*lived not again*,' may be thought to militate with this construction; but although it cannot be doubted that our translators read in their copies *αὐεζήσαν* *lived again*, yet it is remarkable that some of the most approved editions of the New Testament, as that of Knapp, for instance, reject this as a corrupt reading, and insert *εζήσαν* *lived*. There is little doubt that *αὐεζήσαν* has crept into the text, from the construction put upon *εζήσαν* in the preceding verse. As in the prevailing views of the millennium, that word was understood to signify a *literal resurrection*, or *living again*, the inference would not be unnatural, that when the same thing was denied of a certain class of men, the term employed would, of course, be one having the same signification, only preceded by a negative. This affords a specimen of the manner in which men's preconceived hypotheses have been suffered to warp, not their interpretation only, but the very reading of the sacred text."

To the second he replies as follows :—

“ But does the language, rightly interpreted, imply that they should live after the expiration of that term? By no means. The drift of the Spirit of inspiration is merely to intimate that the latter class were distinguished from the former by the fact, that those who composed it did not live through the memorable period of the thousand years, without at all necessitating the inference that they did live after the period had expired. It is a well-established canon of interpretation, that adverbs, denoting a termination of time, are, notwithstanding, often intended, not to intimate an actual termination, but, on the contrary, to signify perpetuity. Thus, Psa. cx, 1: ‘ Sit thou at my right hand *until* I make thine enemies thy footstool.’ Is it at all implied by this that Christ should *cease* to sit at his Father’s right hand when his enemies were brought into subjection? So also, Isa. xxii, 14, ‘ This iniquity shall not be purged *till* ye die.’ But are we to infer that it should be purged then? Certainly not. It is equivalent to saying it should never be purged. In like manner, 1 Sam. xv, 35, ‘ Samuel came no more *until* the day of his death;’ that is, never came any more. 2 Sam. vi, 23, ‘ Michal had no children *until* the day of her death;’ that is, never had any. Rom. v, 13, ‘ For *until* the law, sin was in the world.’ But did sin cease after the entrance of the law? Obviously the writer’s aim is to state a particular fact in respect to a particular period of time, without in the least intimating that the fact ceased when the period ceased. So in the present instance. Nothing further is intended to be affirmed respecting ‘ the rest of the dead’ than that they did not, like those to whom they are opposed, live during the memorable millennium. As to what happened to them *after* that period, nothing is expressly said; but in conformity to the usage just illustrated, the inference is that they *never* lived in the sense in which *living* is predicated of the ‘ souls’ of the martyrs.”

The solution thus furnished by the research of Professor Bush is so satisfactory that it may appear a supererogation for us to add the remarks which follow.

1. In condemning the common reading of this word, Professor Bush accords, we believe, with the best authorities. In Dr. Bloomfield’s Testament, republished by Professor Stuart, the word is marked as spurious. Tittman’s edition, republished by Professor Robinson, has *εζησαν*. Robinson remarks in his New Testament Lexicon, “ *ανεζησαν*, in the earlier editions; later ones, *εζησαν*.”

2. But granting the correctness of the reading, the word *ανεζησαν* is not, in Greek, precisely synonymous with our phrase, *lived again*; at least it does not imply *repetition*. Any Greek scholar, by glancing over those words in his Lexicon which begin with the prefix *ανα*, will find that but very few include the force of the Latin prefix *re*; and of those, perhaps, a close scrutiny will show

that none really express the idea of repetition. The usual, and perhaps the only sense of the prefix *ava* is, *up*; and *αναζησαν* signifies literally to *live up*; that is, *to start up into life* from a previous stupor, or death of body or soul. So *ανιστημι* to *rise up*, and *αναστας* a *rising up* from a previous lower condition, or from death; *αναβιω* to *rise up* into life, or *revive*. It is true, as death has in point of fact always been preceded by a previous life, so it usually is the case that where these words are used, a former life has really existed. Yet these words express not that former life; they only express the *ascent* from the previous death. Such being the meaning of *ανεζησαν*, it follows that the antithesis of the passage is this: the souls of the righteous dead, did, but those of the wicked dead, did not, rise into the paradisaic life.

3. But we lose nothing even by admitting that "*lived not again*" is a true translation of a true reading. It then signifies a living from a previous death; and all death, spiritual or temporal, supposes a previous life. He who is dead in body or soul has lived and died. If the souls of these wicked were *dead*, they had died from a previous life, and that life they "*lived not again*." The antithesis, therefore, still remains the same; the righteous souls did, but the wicked did not, live again.

To Professor Bush's answer to the second difficulty, we may further add:—1. Not only in Biblical, but in popular language, when we say that a state of things lasts *until* a given point, we do not imply, necessarily, that it ceases after that point. We do imply that some modification takes place at that point; but that modification may be a confirmation, a perpetuation, or an increase of that state of things. Thus I may say, Many men do not repent *until* they are old,—and then they are so hardened that they never repent. Again, B. was worth twenty thousand dollars *until* he was forty years old,—and then he became worth forty thousand. The former case expresses a confirmation, the latter an increase of the same state of things. Again, the wicked dead lived not in soul *until* the thousand years were finished; and then they lived not eternally. 2. It is plain, from the language of the apostle, that he is describing one stage of things, without either expressing or implying what was the state of things in the next stage. This is clearly shown in his description of the duration of the reign of the righteous, which all admit to be eternal—"they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years." Does this imply that their reign terminated with the thousand years? Just as clearly as the affirmation that the wicked souls were dead until the close of that thousand years, implies that they then ceased to be dead. The right-



eous lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years—the wicked lived not again until the thousand years were ended; and then the righteous continued alive and reigning, and the wicked continued dead and damned for ever.

While, then, the righteous dead gloriously lived in soul, the rest of the wicked dead lived in neither respect. They lived not in body, for the bodily resurrection had not come; they lived not in soul, for to them the first resurrection would never come. This double death should last until the close of the thousand years, and then they should live again in body, in order to meet in its utter completion the second death.

We may complete the proofs of our definition by remarking that the word *live* was habitually used by the Jews in this sense. Thus Grotius, in his commentary upon the passage, says, “The souls which are in hades are not said *ζην* to live; but those only which are located under the throne of glory, as the Jews say; for so they call the perfected state of souls before the universal resurrection.”\* Upon the words *οὐκ ἐζησαν* they lived not, (for so Grotius reads it,) he remarks, “That is, they remained in hades in that state, which was suitable to the life which they had lived on earth.” Upon the first resurrection he remarks, “This conveyance of the martyrs to the celestial abode can properly be called a resurrection.” Numerous instances are given by Schoettgen in his *Horæ Hebraicæ* upon Matt. xxii, 32, of this mode of expression among the Jews, of which we select a few.

Midrasch Coheleth, fol. xc, 4, upon the words, “for the living know that they must die:”—“They are meant, who even in death are called living. ‘But the dead know not any thing.’ The impious are meant, who, even while active in life, are called dead. Whence we prove this, that the just, even in death, are called living.”†

\* *Και ἐζησαν*. Animæ quæ sunt *εν ᾧδου* non dicuntur *ζην* sed eæ quæ translatae sunt sub solium gloriae, ut loquuntur Hebræi. Sic vocant perfectissimum statum animarum ante resurrectionem universalem.

*Οὐκ ἐζησαν*, i. e., mansere *εν ᾧδου* in eo statu qui congruens erat vitæ in seculo actæ.

*Αυτῇ ἡ ἀναστασις ἡ πρώτη*. Illa evectio Martyrum in cælum potest *ἀνατασις* dici.

† Midrasch Coheleth, fol. xc, 4, ad verba Coheleth ix, 5. Nam viventes sciunt quod morituri sint. *Intelliguntur, qui etiam in morte viventes dicuntur.*

Et mortui non sciunt: *Intelliguntur impii qui etiam versantes dicuntur mortui.* Unde vero hoc probamus, quod justī etiam in morte dicantur viventes, &c.—See Schoettgenii *Horæ Hebraicæ*, vol. i, pp. 181, 1113.

Jalkut Simeoni, part ii, fol. cix, 3, "No difference is there between the just *living* or *dead*, except that they differ in name."

Synopsis Sohar, p. 138, n. vii: "Jacob our father, and Moses our teacher, upon whom be peace, are not dead; and so all who are in their perfected state; because the true *life* consists of this. Although it is written of them that they are dead, this is to be understood in respect to us, not to them."

Schoettgen upon Rev. vi, 9, "souls under the altar," quotes, Sohar Chadasch, fol. xxii, 1. Said Rabbi Jacob: "All the souls are taken from under the *throne of the glory of God*, that they may (at the resurrection) resume their body, as a father takes his child."

The same upon Canticles viii, 1: "By vine is meant the righteous soul, which in heaven is planted under the *throne of glory*." In another place: "How loved by God is that soul which is taken from under the *throne of God's glory*—from the holy place—the land of the *living*."

Schoettgen also shows that the same *throne of glory* was the place of the Messiah in his exaltation. "Messiah was to be descended from the fathers and in human flesh, to redeem us, then he was in the same to occupy the *throne of glory*."—Vol. ii, p. 439.

From these extracts the meaning of this language from a Jew is plain. The disembodied spirits of the saints, being in the perfected state called the throne of glory, are said, in contradistinction to the wicked, *to LIVE*, and *to live with the glorified Messiah*. This is the same with the abode of Lazarus in Abraham's bosom, the same as the being absent from the body, and being present with the Lord of St. Paul, the same as the being in paradise with Christ of the penitent thief, and the same as the life and reign of souls of St. John.

IV. Of these *souls* the apostle affirms that they were in THE FIRST RESURRECTION.

Professor Bush understands here, by the word resurrection, the subjects of that resurrection. Just as *the circumcision* is used as an epithet for the circumcised ones, or Jews, so here *the resurrection* is an epithet designating the risen ones, or "*resurrectionists*." Now it seems a fatal objection to this interpretation that the word resurrection is never so used, so far as we know, in the whole Greek language, sacred or profane. Again, had the apostle so meant he would scarcely have said, *THIS is the first resurrection*, but, *THESE are the first resurrection*. Just as he says, Phil. iii, 3, *Ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν ἡ περιτομή* we are the circumcision, he would more probably have

said, 'Οὗτοι εἰσιν ἡ ἀναστασις ἡ πρώτη. And again, this furnishes an incidental objection to Professor Bush's whole theory. To consider the suffering and persecuted church of the dark ages to be the first resurrection, and the rising of the whole human race at the judgment the second resurrection, forms a strange antithesis.

Perhaps the connection shows, however, that the apostle means not the resurrection act, but the resurrection state. Thus the Sadducees asked our Lord, "In the resurrection (state) whose wife shall she be?" "They that attain that world and the resurrection from the dead;" where "that world" and the "resurrection from the dead" are explanatory of each other. "In the resurrection (state) they neither marry," &c. The apostle beholds these souls in their permanent, living condition, reigning for a thousand years, and it is this continued state which he denominates the first resurrection.

The Greek word *ἀναστασις* is by no means so narrow in its comprehension as our English term resurrection. Both in its noun and verb form, it is used in countless cases both in classical and Biblical Greek to express the act of *rising up*, whether from sitting or lying, from torpor, sleep, or death, from any lower condition of body or soul. In the Septuagint, Lam. iii, 63, "Behold their sitting down and their *ἀναστασις rising up*." Zeph. iii, 8, "Until the day that I rise up to the prey;" literally the day of *ἀναστασεως* my rising up. So in the New Testament, Luke ii, 34, "This child is set for the fall and *rising (ἀναστασις)* of many in Israel," where a moral *rising again* is designated. Similarly St. Paul, "Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise (*ἀναστα*) from the dead." Indeed, the verb form of this word is used an immense number of times in the Septuagint and New Testament to express the simple act of rising. These remarks furnish an answer to those who ignorantly deny that this word ever designates any thing but the bodily resurrection from the dead.

It is again to be recollected that those who explain the *ἀναστασις* of this passage to be the resurrection of the body, rebel against the positive letter, for it is literally a RESURRECTION OF SOULS. The resurrection of souls can be no other than the life of the soul; and this vision can be nothing other than a representation of the promise fulfilled, "he that believeth in me, though he were (bodily) dead, yet (in soul) shall he live." It is the picture, in the glorified state of that same life and resurrection of soul which St. John, in particular, among the sacred writers, often describes. A comparison of a few texts in which the first and second resurrection



are mentioned, will show the nature of Biblical language on this point.

*The first resurrection.*

Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that heareth my word, and believeth on him that sent me, hath everlasting life, and shall not come into condemnation; but is passed from death unto life. Verily, verily, I say unto you, The hour is coming, and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God; and they that hear shall live. For as the Father hath life in himself, so hath he given to the Son to have life in himself. John v, 24-26.

I am the resurrection and the life: he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live: and whosoever liveth, and believeth in me, shall never die. John xi, 25, 26.

We know that we have passed from death unto life.—He that loveth not his brother abideth in death. 1 John iii, 14.

God, even when we were dead in trespasses and sins, hath quickened us together with Christ; and hath raised us up together, and made us sit together in heavenly places, in Christ Jesus. Eph. ii, 5, 6.

Arise (*αναστα*) from the dead. Eph. v, 14.

The rising (*αναστασις*) of many in Israel. Luke ii, 34.

See also Rom. viii, 10, 11; Gal. v, 24; Ps. lxxi, 20; lxxx, 18; Ezek. xxxvii.

*The second resurrection.*

And hath given him authority to execute JUDGMENT also, because he is the Son of man. Marvel not at this: for the hour is coming, in the which all that are in the graves shall hear his voice, and shall come forth; they that have done good, unto the resurrection of life; and they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of damnation. John v, 27-29.

If a man die shall he live again? Job xiv, 14.

As in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive. 1 Cor. xv, 22.

Now, that the dead are raised, Moses showed. Luke xx, 37.

By man came the resurrection. 1 Cor. xv, 21.

A full comparison of the texts, of which these are specimens, will show that the New Testament writers, and John in particular, apply the strongest terms significative of a resurrection to the soul as freely as to the body. The first text above quoted is a strong case in point. The bodily resurrection there described is universal as the human race, future in its time, from the graves, connected with the judgment, embraces both classes of mankind, and both final destinies; whereas the antithetical resurrection of the soul was described as then present, ("*now is*,") was dependent upon voluntary hearing and believing, was confined to believers, was not from the graves, and led only to eternal life.

This resurrection is indeed described as commencing in this life; but it is also described as including the life to come; or rather the life to come, the Christian's glorification, is transferred from the future to the present state. Already, according to St. Paul, are we "raised," and already we "sit together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus;" already the believer "hath eternal life," and "hath passed from death unto life." And this same resurrection state will continue unaffected by the death of the body, or rather will be perfected by it—"though he were *dead*, yet shall he *live*, and never *die*." For as, on the one hand, the death of the human race is Biblically exhibited as comprehending the depravity of the soul, the dissolution of the body and the lake of fire, so, on the other hand, the resurrection includes in itself, literally and truly, the recovery of the soul, its glorification in its disembodied state, the reorganization of the body, and the union of both body and soul in an eternal heaven. This is the mighty *θανάτος* death which men have suffered in Adam, and it is the glorious *ἀνάστασις* resurrection which they may receive by Christ. But the terms, death, life, and resurrection, can with propriety be applied each to its own whole comprehensively, or to each of its parts singly.

Such are some of the general grounds for our construction of this passage. And if they alone seem to settle the question, still stronger confirmation will arise from the points presented in the passage itself. Our first argument will be drawn from its coincidence with those few passages in the New Testament which are admitted to describe the glorified state of disembodied souls.

The beggar died, and *was*  
carried by angels into Abra-  
ham's bosom, (a Judaic phrase  
for the paradise of happy souls.)

This is the first resurrection.

He *lifted up his eyes and seeth* Abraham, and Lazarus in his bosom.

Though he *were dead*, yet shall he *live*.

To-day shalt thou be *with me* in paradise.

And I saw the *souls* of them which had not worshiped the beast.

Which were *beheaded*—and they *lived*.

With Christ.

These coincidences will clearly prove that all the attributes ascribed to paradise are bestowed upon this reign of the souls of the martyred. But a final, and perhaps most decisive argument, will arise from a comparison of the different parts of the chapter itself, that this *resurrection* is of the *SOUL*.

1. The first resurrection is the natural antithesis of the second death; and as the second death is the complete death of the soul, the first resurrection must oppositely be the resurrection of the soul. It was not by mistake, therefore, that the apostle calls the subjects of the first resurrection, *souls*. The second resurrection is the resurrection of the body, and is the reverse of bodily death; the first resurrection must therefore be the resurrection of the soul, being opposed to the second death, the death of the soul.

2. The very peculiar mode of expression used by the apostle, shows that he intends to put the first resurrection and the second death in antithesis. His words measure in great precision with each other: *Ἀυτὴ ἡ ἀνάστασις ἡ πρώτη—Οὗτος ὁ θάνατος ὁ δεύτερος ἐστὶ*; This is the first resurrection—this is the second death. The singularity of these special definitions of these two particular things, (of which there is no other instance in Revelation,) the exquisite balance, word for word, in the two members of the antithesis, the nice accordance of the language with St. John's idea of resurrection and death, all join to confirm the natural correlation between the first resurrection and the second death, both being of the *soul*.

3. But to settle all doubt, St. John has, in this very passage, given a perfectly explicit definition: "Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection; on such the second death hath no power." Could the apostle have more positively fixed his own meaning? Divested of its exclamatory form, his language is just this: The felicity of the first resurrection consists in its being the opposite of the second death. The contrast is still further continued: "On such the second death hath no power, BUT they shall be priests of God and of Christ, and shall reign with him a thousand years." The *but* here is a particle expressive of contrast;



and the contrast lies between the second death and the millennial reign of the first resurrection. They shall not suffer the second death, *but* shall be subjects of the first resurrection. The two are therefore opposites. We are now in complete possession of the meaning of this glorified resurrection.

For the first resurrection, as thus pictured in the disembodied state, has this higher peculiarity above its correspondent in this world, that the day of probation being past, the blessed soul is beyond all possibility of apostasy and ruin. He that endureth to the end shall be saved. While the soul is in its earthly state, it is in some danger of the second death; but when his soul, being emancipated from the body and the earth, is enthroned in paradise, he is for ever and unalienably "*blessed and holy*," beyond the power of the second death. Such is the state presented in this apocalyptic vision.

V. During this thousand years these souls REIGNED *with Christ*.

The first question is, Who form the body of this kingdom? And we may, without hesitation, place a decisive negative upon the notion that they are the entire righteous part of mankind. On the contrary, we may affirm that the plan of this book, the reason of the case, and the letter of the text, prove that they are martyrs only, and specifically *the apocalyptic martyrs*, who are here presented to the view of the apostle.

The Apocalypse is the book of hope to the church and to the world. It winds up the series of mundane affairs, as it winds up the series of revelation, with a note of triumph. Not merely does it describe the triumphant completion of God's great plan of creation, redemption, and judgment, but the triumph on earth of the Messiah's mission. This book traces the grand epic of Christianity from its first tremulous beginnings, through its fearful struggles, its arduous advancement, to its last peal of victory and glorious reign. Symbolized variously as the woman, the man-child, and the word of God, the gospel meets its many-formed adversary as the devil, the beast, and the false prophet, often to suffer, but finally to conquer.

Now, through all this series, at each eventful crisis, the prophet introduces a choir of glorified human spirits, whose language or condition indicate the existing phase of the action. Like the chorus of the Greek drama, their interlude reveals to the spectator the aspect of the struggle. Does the righteous cause seem at first overwhelmed by imperial power? The souls under the altar (chap. vi, 9-11) cry to heaven for justice. Does that empire bow to the cross? Glorified spirits (chap. vii, 13-17) chant a hymn

over this first triumph. Does the gospel of the Reformation shake the throne of the beast? The harps of the hundred and forty-four thousand raise the pæan. And, finally, are the beast and his armies exterminated and Satan banished? The whole glorious army of apocalyptic martyrs, enthroned in the heaven of pure spirits, united with Christ, hold undisputed sway over the surviving and happy nations.

These choirs are presented to our view, not so much to give us a specific view of the condition of those spirits themselves, as to represent the state of affairs on earth. The binding of Satan is presented, not to inform us of a fact in his personal history, but of a fact in the history of the world. And so this heavenly reign is simply a symbol of earthly happiness. No doubt, since these spirits are presented in a character and condition in keeping with reality, some proper knowledge is incidentally conveyed of their glorified, disembodied state. The apostle opens a glimpse of heaven to shed a ray of light upon the earth; and, no doubt, the view disclosed of both, so far as it goes, is accordant with truth. But the extent of the disclosure would be limited by the extent of his purpose.

Now it is his purpose to trace the battles of the cross to the complete triumph of its cause, to the resulting happiness on earth and the rewards of its champions. It was right that those brows only, which had borne the brunt of the battle, should be seen wearing the laurel of victory. If the universal triumph of evil, the suppression of truth, and the extermination of its advocates, were indicated by the souls lying under the altar, surely the prostration of wickedness, and the ascendancy of the holy cause, could not be more beautifully shadowed than by the glorified reign of these blessed souls, whose throne was indeed set in paradise, but whose sceptre swayed the earth. But no patriarch or prophet of ancient date, no priest or prince of an older dispensation, and no mere pious soul of any age, is present to his vision. As his purpose is specific, his view is limited. Those only who had bled in the battle does he behold wearing the crown of rejoicing.

But the partial extent of the glorified vision, upon our view so natural, on the Chiliastic theory is utterly inexplicable. By that view, the main purpose, nay, the only purpose, is to reveal a first bodily resurrection of all the righteous; why, then, this limitation? And when this is the only passage that furnishes a view of that great scene, who feels authorized to add a large accession to the presented amount? Surely the apostle's authority must be just as good for what he limits, as for what he exhibits. By affirming

thus much he denies the more. It requires just the same inspiration to authorize an addition as it did to authorize the original. If the plain words of the text draw a boundary line, a literalist, at any rate, will tremble to enlarge the field. To the text, therefore, we may appeal.

By comparing then the passage in question with several previous texts, it will be seen that the apostle maintains in view the various destinies of two opposite and contending bodies, namely, the advocates of the beast and the suffering champions of the cross. In the first passage, (chap. xiii, 15-17,) the advocates of the beast are delineated; in the second, (chap. xiv, 9-11,) they are branded with a curse; in the third, (chap. xix, 20,) they are exterminated; and, finally, in the passage under consideration, those *not* of their stamp, namely, the martyrs of the cross, are enthroned in celestial triumph.

If any man worship the beast or his image, and receive his mark in his forehead, or in his hand, the same shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God. Chap. xiv, 9.

I saw the souls of them that were beheaded for the witness of Jesus and for the word of God, and which had *not* worshiped the beast, neither his image, neither had received his mark upon their foreheads, nor in their hands, and they lived and reigned, &c.

Here, then, is the complete antithesis; two opposite classes are presented, the battle is fought, the former is exterminated, the latter is crowned. The crowned class are marked by two characteristics; they were martyrs for Christ and God's word, and they were opponents of the beast. And now if it be the apostle's sole purpose to authorize the doctrine of a first bodily resurrection, he authorizes a resurrection of just no more than these; and if any man wish to prove a first resurrection of all the righteous, he will find it, perhaps nowhere, certainly not here.

The despicable expedients by which the entire righteous are surreptitiously added to these, need only to be mentioned to show that they are unworthy of mention. Mr. Spalding gravely opines that as all Christians do resist, at least the "flatteries" and "popular influence" of the beast, and therein "do verily give up their lives for the Lord's sake, and as there is reference to those who suffered by the image of the beast," so, *figuratively*, of course, "the people of God in all ages are included in the appellation, "the souls of the beheaded," &c. Others enlarge the Papal beast



into an emblem universally of secular or spiritual ambition and domination, and thus figure the terms into a comprehension of all the righteous of all ages. And these, forsooth, are pure literalists ! devoted "sons of the letter !" The fact is, these gentlemen have two sets of exegetical rules ; one set for others, with which they draw the cords of strict construction so tight as to press an opponent to death, and another set for themselves, perfectly loose and random, by which they range at will through the fields of figure, fancy, loose analogy, and capricious perversion.

We may now consider this reign of souls in its three-fold aspect, as a specimen of paradisaic bliss, as a symbol of a regenerate earth, and as an identity with the supreme exaltation of Christ.

1. If these souls, although introduced like the apocalyptic angels, and Satan, with a symbolical purpose, are invested with attributes in keeping with their real state, then we may infer, in confirmation of other texts, that the disembodied spirits of saints enjoy that mystery of personal bliss which mortal can never conceive, until in his immortal state he shall experience. Their reign *may* no more imply a subjection of others to their power than their priesthood implies a real sacrifice ; but as the latter indicates the perfect holiness, so the former announces the ineffable exaltation of their state. That they may occupy a lofty grade in the scale of universal being, that the possession of a boundless excellence in their personal natures and powers constitutes a true sovereignty, that they may have a mastery of knowledge over the secrets of God's now mysterious universe, that they shall have a true lordship over the domains of paradise—all these things we may easily conceive to exist, and to constitute a regal glory before which all earthly majesty is worthless.

2. But this reign is here introduced to indicate the complete ascendancy on earth of that cause for which the blood of these very martyrs had been shed. If the suppression of these martyrs, crying from beneath the altar, indicated the supremacy of universal wickedness, *the millennium of sin*, so their ascendancy and reign indicate the supremacy of universal Christianity, *the millennium of holiness*. If the universal domination of the dragon, if the enthronement of the beast imply the burial of the world in paganism, and the submission of Christendom to Papacy, then the casting of them down to the pit indicates the emancipation of the world from their influence ; and the establishment of this dynasty of reigning spirits, to preserve the consistency of the symbols, must indicate the occupancy of the earth by pure Christianity. Their symbolical prayer for justice on their persecutors is now heard ;

their symbolical prophecy, "we shall reign on earth," is now fulfilled. That holy cause, of which they stood the impersonations, once apparently overwhelmed in their overthrow, struggling in their struggles, now reigns in their reign. This is the latter-day glory—the millennium.

3. But they reign in unison with Christ. Identified with him as his concurrent assessors, his will and theirs are one. They rule through his sceptre, they decree through his voice, they are enthroned upon his throne. And when, in the fullness of the gospel dispensation, he rules the nations with his rod of iron, he is the executive of their dominion.

And as in all these three respects, in their own personal exaltation, in the victory of that cause which they personify, and in their identity with the reigning Messiah, these *souls*, with "*the whole family in heaven and earth*," are completely triumphant, now are fulfilled those many prophecies of the universal extension of the Redeemer's kingdom. "There was given him dominion and a kingdom, that all people, and nations, and languages should serve him; his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed." "The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord and his Christ; and he shall reign for ever and ever." Of the perpetuity of this kingdom, neither the scoffers that "*in the last time*" shall "*come*," (and the very fact that they then "*come*" is proof that they shall have long previously ceased,) nor the rebellion of Gog and Magog, are any interruption. Through the very destruction of the earth itself, that kingdom emerging, as the young eagle breaks through his shell to soar into the upper sky, shall rise still indestructible to its immortal state and the kingdom of glory, surrendered to the adorable Trinity, shall be—*alter et idem*—the perpetuation of the kingdom of grace.

- ART. VIII.—1. *Mormonism and the Mormons : an Historical View of the Rise and Progress of the Sect self-styled Latter-Day Saints.* By DANIEL P. KIDDER. 18mo., pp. 342. New-York: G. Lane & P. P. Sandford. 1842.
2. *The History of the Saints ; or, an Expose of Joe Smith and Mormonism.* By JOHN C. BENNETT. 12mo., pp. 344. Boston: Leland & Whiting. New-York: Bradbury, Soden, & Co. Cincinnati: E. S. Norris & Co. 1842.
3. *The British Critic and Quarterly Theological Review.* Number for October, 1842. Article VI.

THE history of religious imposture is replete with facts as instructive and admonitory as humiliating and alarming. How it comes to pass that base and stupid imposition wins its way upon the credulity of multitudes of men, and finally comes to be regarded as the voice of God, is an inquiry which has in different ages of the world called forth the talents of the wise and good—of both philosophers and theologians. It is still however a fact, which to many is involved in inexplicable mystery. How rational minds can be gulled into a belief that the God of infinite holiness and wisdom would employ *knaves* to teach *religion*, and to perfect his own revelations, is a problem that many are not able to solve.

A thorough understanding of the intellectual and moral character of man, as developed in the Holy Scriptures, and confirmed by experience and observation, will conduct us to the only safe and satisfactory conclusions upon this subject. Man is so constituted that *religion* is one of the wants of his nature, and religion of some sort he will have. But he is so perverted in his moral nature that he is averse to the pure and true religion which God has given him; and hence any new religion, or any modification of the old and true religion which offers him the unrestrained indulgence of his animal appetites, or some mitigation of the rigor of the divine precepts, finds in him a ready reception. There is also in many minds a fondness for novelty and the marvelous, which blinds both reason and conscience, and preponderates in their decisions in relation to matters of religion more generally than in any thing else. Such minds, when brought fairly under the power of some novelty, or some wonderful, and, to a cool judgment, incredible relation or theory, are almost wholly incapable of a regular process of reasoning, or of arriving at just conclusions in relation to the subject of their fanatical admiration. Hence we find men of every false religion perfectly honest in their adherence to it, and per-



fectly incompetent to see in it any defects, or to view in a just light the evidences of the selfish designs of those they make their spiritual guides, though all this is as obvious to all the world besides as the sun at noon-day. Men in this condition are really more entitled to our sympathy and forbearance than our contempt or censure. The poison has acted upon their minds until their regular functions are subverted, and all their moral judgments are actually the hallucinations of insanity.

But we must come to the consideration of the particular subject of this article, viz., "Mormonism and the Mormons." Our object is not to argue the matter with our "Latter-day Saints," nor to give many specimens from the works at the head of this article; but to give the reader a sketch of the facts which our authors have authenticated, and of the results at which they have arrived.

The principal actor in the Mormon imposture is Joe Smith, an ignorant, fanatical, and licentious renegade, who, in connection with his father, was impelled by a money-digging mania to visit the mountains of northern Pennsylvania to prosecute his calling—that of discovering secret treasures in the earth by *peeping at a stone in a hat*! Here he married Emma Hale, of Harmony, Susquehannah county, without the consent, and contrary to the wishes, of her parents and friends. Smith's character is proved to have been grossly immoral by the affidavits of his father-in-law, brother-in-law, his wife's uncle, and a cousin; besides a long list of respectable names in the state of New-York where he was raised.

The deponents in Pennsylvania we knew well in 1816-17, the first year of our itinerant life. We have a distinct recollection of their several traits of character, and as clearly have in our mind's eye the present wife of "the prophet." Father Hale, as he was called, was a pious, an honest, and a shrewd man, who settled in that rough region of country in an early period in order to gratify his propensity for hunting. Father Lewis is still alive, and it will be a sufficient endorsement of his character to say that he has for many years been an acceptable and a useful local elder in the Methodist Episcopal Church. Father Hale's house was the preachers' home, and Em, as she was called in family parlance, acted a subordinate part in the work about house. Elevated, as she now is, we in those old times often partook of a good repast of venison, eels, and buckwheat cakes, prepared by her hands. Our general impression is, that she was of decidedly moderate intellectual caliber—quite below the average grade of the family. But subsequent associations may have wrought in her marked and salutary changes.

When Joe first broached the grand hoax of "the golden Bible," it was talked of solely as *a money-making project*. In a conversation with Rev. N. Lewis, about three years since, he informed us, that the first that he heard of the matter was a sort of vague representation from Joe and Em, that they knew of something that when carried out *would make them and all their friends rich*. And when the story came out about the "gold plates," and the "great spectacles," he (Lewis) asked Joe if any one but himself could translate other languages into English by the aid of his miraculous spectacles? On being answered in the affirmative, he proposed to Joe to let him make the experiment upon some of the strange languages he found in Clarke's Commentary, and stated to him if it was even so, and the experiment proved successful, he would then believe the story about the gold plates. But at this proposition Joe was much offended, and never undertook to convert "uncle Lewis" afterward.

As to "the Book of Mormon," which, indeed, constitutes the foundation of the system of Mormonism, it is proved, most conclusively, that the whole, excepting the religious matter, is identical with a book written, but not published, by one Spaulding, in the state of Ohio, as a novel, and entitled, "The Manuscript Found." It is made quite probable that Smith came into possession of the MS. through the agency of Rigdon, his coadjutor and orator, whom he very easily converted to the faith, after, by the aid of one of his dupes who had the means, he had published this wonderful book.

The first converts to the new religion were from among Smith's family and friends in western New-York. None of his wife's friends in Pennsylvania, with all the prospects of *becoming rich* presented before them, have to this day, as far as we know, become Mormons. This is honorable both to their heads and hearts.

In the history of the Mormons we mark several important periods. The first is, when they took possession of what was revealed by "the prophet" to be their "eternal inheritance," in Kirkland, Ohio. The next, when, by erecting a magnificent temple, and getting up a bank, and going into various other speculations, they exploded, and went to the "far west," where they found another "eternal inheritance" in Missouri. And, finally, when, by coming into collision with the Missourians, they were forced by fire and sword to leave the state, and finally found another "eternal inheritance" in Illinois, where they have their present head quarters, and where "the saints are to come up to the gathering." Upon the wake of public sympathy, raised by the

persecutions which the Mormons suffered in Missouri, they rode into a condition of prosperity and success before unknown. They are building a city on the bank of the Mississippi near the rapids, which they call Nauvoo.\* Here they are erecting a splendid temple, and Joe has published a revelation that the saints must erect a great house to "be called the Nauvoo House," where he, Smith, "and his heirs *for ever*," are to have "a suite of rooms for their accommodation." A wonderful display of arms and military power is made here by "the saints." And what is a little more than would have been expected, even of Joe Smith, he bears at once the titles of "*prophet*," "*high priest*," "*president*," "*mayor of the city of Nauvoo*," and "LIEUTENANT GENERAL of the Nauvoo legion!"

The fanaticism of Mormonism is set in a true light, and accounted for and explained by the author of the work first placed at the head of this article, with Christian moderation and candor. This is indeed more truly an occasion of grief and sorrow than of ridicule and merriment. And the author never laughs when true religion weeps and bleeds.

The sham miracles of "the Latter-day Saints" are altogether blasphemous, and too shallow to require investigation. The amount of the whole of their miraculous power consists in curing some of the brotherhood of an attack of rheumatism or the toothache, which comes on just at the time a miracle is wanted, and is instantaneously cured "in answer to prayer."

Their prophecies consist in foretelling something that "the prophet" means to bring about—not unfrequently of the sudden death of some one he intends to *murder* by the agency of his "destructives." And "the prophet" "discerns spirits" by the means of a regular system of espionage, carried on through the agency of his confidential and official informers. The system is made up of an admixture of several parts and parcels of heathenism, Mohammedanism, Judaism, and Christianity—the ultimate tendency of which is to the grossest licentiousness and infidelity.

Its licentious and disorganizing tendency renders it dangerous

\* In the month of May, 1839, we passed up the Mississippi as far as Stephenson. Joe was then in duress in Missouri, and the Mormons were flying for life across the river. We saw a motley group on the bank of the river, who, as far as we could judge, had no covering for their heads but covered wagons and some small tents. Little did we then suppose that this was an embryo city, which would develop itself so rapidly as that in three years from that time it would become the *glory* of the "Latter-day Saints," and the *terror* of the great west.



to the civil and political interests of the country, as well as utterly subversive of the public morals. Still we certainly agree with the author now under review that "persecution" is not the proper instrument with which to assail this hydra monster. Mormons should be treated just like other men. When they conduct themselves as orderly citizens, they should be suffered to enjoy their opinions and to exercise the full liberty of conscience. When they become insane, they should be sent to the hospital or asylum provided for such persons. And when they are guilty of crime, they should be tried before the civil tribunals of the country and punished according to the laws. And we can but express a hope that by due process of law, and not by the agency of a mob, Joe Smith will be brought to appropriate punishment for his numerous gross violations of the laws of the land.

An abstract of the doctrines of Mormonism is given by our author, as follows:—

"Stripping off its mantle of hypocrisy, Mormonism stands forth in the following cardinal positions—a meager and ghastly skeleton.

"1. Joseph Smith is a prophet of the Lord, and a priest after the order of Melchisedek.

"2. The Book of Mormon is true, that is, inspired.

"3. Zion is on this land, (Nauvoo, Illinois.)

"4. Matter is eternal.

"5. God is a material being.

"6. The saints are to be baptized for their dead relations, on peril of their own salvation."—*Mormonism and the Mormons*, P. 234.

The following is the author's account of the Golden Bible:—

"1. The Mormon Bible originated with men destitute of a good moral character.

"2. The primary design of its publication was pecuniary profit.

"3. Said Mormon Bible bears prima facie evidence of imposture.

"4. It basely perverts the language and doctrine of the Holy Scriptures.

"5. It blasphemously imputes to God language inconsistent with his character and holiness.

"6. Excepting perverted plagiarisms from the Scriptures of truth, that book is nothing but a medley of incoherent absurdities.

"7. The system of MORMONISM has arisen entirely from the Book of MORMON, and the contrivance of its 'authors and proprietors.'

"8. That system has been and still is propagated by means of deception.

"9. Mormonism, at the same time it pretends to be 'the fullness of the gospel,' is intrinsically infidel, and opposed to Christianity. It can never be reconciled with the principles of a pure religion.

"10. Its legitimate effects are to degrade and heathenize society."—Pp. 329, 330.

A remarkable fact is, that several of the early disciples of Mormonism have abandoned the community, and exposed the errors and corruption of the pseudo-prophet; and yet anathemas, fulminated against them in the name of the Lord, are all that seems necessary to retrieve his character with the great body of "the saints," and to sustain his influence among them. Besides a mass of ignorant deluded fanatics which Joe has gathered around him, he must have some base accomplices. His scribes, and orators, and bishops, and presidents, must be made up of men, if not so reckless and fool-hardy, yet quite as wicked and as infidel, as himself. "Emma, daughter of Zion, elect lady," and by special revelation constituted *poet*\*—to compose and select hymns for the saints—tardy as are her mental operations, *knows better* than to dream that Joe, her husband, acts under a divine commission. But such is the charm of influence, power, and wealth, that her convictions are stifled by the commotion raised through this agency in a mind but too feebly guarded by cultivation and an elevated moral code.

From this general view we shall proceed to a few particular deductions from the facts presented by our author.

Should we, in the present crisis of human affairs, undertake to plot a scheme of evil that would be worthy of the especial patronage of the prince of darkness, and promote, to the greatest practicable extent, the interests of his kingdom, we should feel constrained to copy the prominent features of the system called Mormonism. The leading objects of such a scheme would be,

1. To discredit the word of God; 2. To impugn the evidences of Christianity; 3. To destroy the authority of Jehovah, and to establish some species of idolatry or man-worship; 4. To unite fanatical Christians and sworn infidels in a common crusade against evangelical truth; 5. To sap the foundations of morality and virtue; and, finally, To promote all iniquity in the name and on the credit of religion.

Let us now pass to the parallel.

1. The starting point of Mormonism is its sham bible; a miserable mixture of fictitious narrative and sanctimonious rant; interspersed with passages plagiarized from the word of God. This

\* We have before us one of her *official* productions, with the following title: "A Collection of Sacred Hymns, for the Church of Jesus Christ, of the Latter-day Saints. Selected by Emma Smith. Nauvoo, Illinois: printed by E. Robinson. 1841." This book is made up of hymns gathered from all quarters, a portion of which are miserable Mormon doggerel, whether composed by the "elect lady" or others we have no means of determining.

is palmed off upon the credulous as a supplementary revelation, designed to supply the defects of the Bible. Henceforward the Book of Mormon and the Bible must be so identified as to stand or fall together. Both are rejected as offensive, and the object is gained.

2. Mormonism has made an insidious attack upon the evidences of Christianity by maintaining a pretended parallel between the method of its own propagation and that of the religion of the gospel. Under the name of miracles, tongues, interpretations, and prophecies, it has resorted to a species of spiritual jugglery, marvelous indeed in the eyes of its victims. It has, on the whole, gained to itself the unenviable credit of conjuring up a counterfeit very serviceable to infidels, and very troublesome to weak-minded Christians.

3. Joe Smith's highest spiritual claim has been, to be considered "a prophet of the Most High," but under cover of this dignity he has ruled with a rod of iron. Success in imposture has imboldened this originally stupid villain, until he now grasps at the very prerogatives of the Godhead. He endeavors to make his own perverse will superior to all law, human and divine. Among his followers he has thus far been but too successful. Thousands have been taught to render him homage, and their devotion appears to be as pure as that of the heathen who court self-immolation to appease the wrath, or to promote the infernal joy, of their idols.

4. Mormonism originally made claims to the highest sanctity. On this ground it obtained many of its adherents and some of its chosen apostles. Its principles have long been fundamentally atheistic, and now it openly courts the favor of organized infidelity. Infidel and Mormon newspapers interchange extracts with the greatest appearance of mutual satisfaction, and the strongest evidence of intimate relationship. Henceforth we may regard them as identical in design, and fitly matched in the service of their common author.

5. The progress of Mormonism has the invariable tendency to unsettle the grounds of rational belief. It establishes a false criterion of right and wrong, and having substituted the will of man for the authority of God, it has broken down the barriers of conscience, and opened upon society the very floodgates of wickedness.

6. Such a tremendous enginery of Satan, countenanced on the one hand by a prevailing respect for religious pretensions, however absurd, and sustained by political intrigue and flattery on the other, could not be put in motion without destructive consequences. Such consequences are just now becoming fairly developed. Years



may be required to show the full result ; but we may fairly presume that we have already a faithful index of what it will be. This may be seen in wholesale swindling, fraudulent bankruptcy, infamous deception, female prostitution, adultery, polygamy, treason, and murder. All these iniquities in their multifarious developments are disguised under the profession of piety, and sanctioned by solemn appeals to the God of heaven.

What portion of the earth has been cursed with a more reckless attempt at the subversion of all good, and where has ever religious imposture flourished more successfully than in this enlightened, Christian land, since Mormonism arose? We tremble when we contemplate the responsibility of those who might have interposed influences to save its victims ; but who neglected to inform themselves of the proper methods of so doing. All have been wondering that so stupid an imposture could make any progress in the midst of so much light. Just as though it were depending on its claims to truth for success, or as though there were not in fallen men a natural tendency to confederacies of evil. Such ideas are entirely mistaken, and yet they seem to have prevailed, until Mormonism is prepared to enforce its pretensions by the sword.

Its downfall has been repeatedly predicted, and is again, at the present moment, supposed by many to be inevitable. In the midst of all its former reverses it has only increased. Hitherto all attempts to subject its founder to the penalties of law have been in some way defeated, and, at the same time, converted into capital for the advancement of his object.

Up to this hour Mormonism continues to be zealously propagated on both sides of the Atlantic. Whatever may be the result of the present crisis, the manner in which this system of false religion sprang up, and the steps by which it has arrived at its present character and position, cannot fail to be subjects of interest to those who would become acquainted with the world as it is, with a view to its amelioration.

Let those, then, who wish to see a fair and impartial account of the miserable imposture which is now exciting so much public interest, read "*Mormonism and the Mormons.*" The style of the work is plain, natural, and perspicuous, and the mechanical execution in keeping with the Book-Room works generally.

The above was prepared as a brief review of the work placed first at the head of this article before we saw the announcement of the work of General Bennett. As far as this work goes for

any thing, it confirms all the leading views of brother Kidder, and all our general impressions upon the subject. We can only occupy space to make a few brief notes upon the work of the general. The author, "for eighteen months, was living with the Mormons at their chief city, and possessed the confidence of the prophet himself, and of his councilors;" but says it "is a very gross error" to suppose that "I was for some time a convert to their pretended religion." He says, "*I never believed in them or their doctrines.*" It seems that his object in joining Joe "at the seat of his dominion" was to possess himself of his secrets, and then "expose his iniquity to the world." So, according to his own story, the whole of General Bennett's Mormonism was a mere farce—was *deception* played off upon a *diviner*! What is this but meeting the devil on his own ground!

That General Bennett has shed much light upon the internal policy, and the abominable wickedness of Smith and his coadjutors, cannot be rationally doubted. Whatever construction is put upon his course, and the spirit he manifests, none can doubt but his numerous affidavits are authentic, and most of his facts amply sustained. There are, however, many exceptionable things in this expose of Mormonism.

To say nothing of the revolting scenes which he describes, which, for the honor of humanity, and the security of the public morals, had already been made sufficiently public through the newspapers, there are many things in the book which will leave a bad impression. In his great zeal against Mormonism the general loses self-respect and a sense of propriety. In a controversy with Rockwell, in relation to the murder of Boggs, the *Mormon saint* is represented as saying, "I have been informed that you said Smith gave me fifty dollars and a wagon for shooting Boggs, and I can and will whip any man that will tell such a cursed lie." And the sum of the dignified general's reply is, "If you wish to fight, I am ready for you!" The general is rather too laudatory of his correspondents and coadjutors at Nauvoo. They are rather too "good"—the female portion of them are almost too "good-looking," "beautiful," "amiable," "lovely," and "accomplished"—have too many "charms and attractions." One of these *charming* ladies, he says, "is one of the most devoutly pious girls in the world:" and, perhaps in proof of her extraordinary *piety*, he tells us, that in a controversy with Joe upon some delicate matters she called him "a cursed liar." Rather a singular flare up this for such a paragon of piety.

The author professes a great regard for the laws, the morals,

and religion of the country. All this may be very sincere. But it is rather singular that in saving the country from the overflowings of wickedness, infidelity, and heathenism, he should seem bent upon a crusade against the Mormons, which implies a little more than an appeal to reason and the laws. A war of extermination must be waged against the poor deluded Mormons, and all Christian people must come up to the help of the mighty deliverer, who will carry "the war to the knife, and the *knife to the hilt*!" The reader will gather a tolerable idea of the spirit of the work, and of the feelings and character of the author, from the following brief paragraphs, which are all we have space for in the present article:—

"I shall be in INDEPENDENCE, Jackson county, Missouri, *as soon as possible*, to put the ball in motion; (to which place my friends will hereafter direct their communications to me;) and if the war must be carried to the knife, and *the knife to the hilt*, the sons of thunder will drive it through. The eyes of a Boggs will never slumber nor sleep, *until the rod of Aaron divides the waters*, and the supremacy of the constitution and the laws is acknowledged in the land, and violence and misrule hide their hydra head; and I shall hold the *rapier of justice* in my right hand, and my left arm shall bear the *shield of truth*, until I bruise the serpent's head."—*Mormonism Exposed*, pp. 262, 265.

"Will not the people of the west open their eyes to their imminent peril? Will they suffer a community of murderers to congregate their forces, and immolate those nearest allied and most endeared to them by the ties of humanity and consanguinity, without a murmur? Citizens, be ready to put your armor on, and spread your banners on the air! for if the battle *must be fought*, I will lead you on to glorious victory in this great moral struggle, where the cause of morality and true religion is bleeding at every pore. Arise in the plenitude of your strength and assert your rights, and in the name of the Lord God of Israel, lay the rebels low! *Vox populi, vox Dei*."—Pp. 280, 281.

"Should I be sacrificed or slain in the conflict, my blood would be avenged by God and my country. I never feared to die, but I did not intend to sell my life cheaply until the world had the truth of the Mormon organization before them in bold relief. The issue is now made up; 'their die is cast, their fate is fixed, their doom is sealed:' their temple will be profaned, their altars desecrated, their city devastated, their possessions confiscated, and their idols immolated; and reason, sober reason, will once more resume its empire in the minds of the people, and folly, fraud, and imposture, hide their hydra head. All *honest* individuals, who have the requisite MORAL COURAGE, will now cease to worship the Mormon BAAL, in the modern *Babylon*, and will bow submissively before the Lord God of the universe, renounce *heathenism*, and espouse *Christianity*."—P. 292.

"It is to vigorous and united effort that we must look for the final suppression of Mormonism; and the citizen and the Christian is highly



culpable who stands by in apathy, and, with folded arms, coolly looks upon the progress of a system that will eventually destroy, if not timely checked, our religion and our liberties, and involve us and our country in the most direful and irretrievable calamities.

"The Mormons, strong already in their numbers and their zeal, are increasing like the rolling snowball, and will eventually fall with the force of an avalanche upon the fair fabric of our institutions, unless the people, roused to resist their villany, quit the forum for the field, and, meeting the Mormons with their own arms, crush the reptile before it has grown powerful enough to sting them to the death."—P. 307.

This reminds us of what was said of one of old, "His driving is like the driving of Jehu the son of Nimshi; for he driveth furiously." We most sincerely regret that measures so exciting as those which are in progress under the direction of General Bennett are thought to be necessary to bring black-hearted villany and blasphemous imposture to retribution. Why will the sober and reflecting portions of community sleep—give themselves no trouble to gain correct information of the character and progress of a dangerous faction, and a conspiracy against religion and our free institutions, until the warring elements are put into commotion, and then permit hair-brained adventurers to mount the whirlwind and direct the storm? Whatever provocation has been given by Joe Smith and his gang, there is no call for outbreaks of popular fury. The evil is already sufficiently alarming, and needs not to be aggravated and enhanced by bad management. We must be permitted to hope that the people of the west will honor the laws; that no violence will ensue. The way to render the evil incurable is to assail the Mormons in the spirit of fiery persecution. But as much in earnest as we are that Joe and his wretched accomplices should suffer for their licentious, bloody, and treasonable conduct the just penalty of the laws, and that they may find final escape from this utterly impracticable, we protest against all unlawful or indirect measures to accomplish this object. This opposing imposture to imposture, cursing to cursing, fanaticism to fanaticism, and violence to violence, is not the way to cure either heresy, fraud, or faction. But there are empirics in religion and politics as well as in the healing art, and their panaceas are often more to be dreaded, than the diseases for which they are offered as the remedy.

We must conclude with a brief notice of an article on Mormonism in *the British Critic*. This article is principally occupied with a work which bears the following title: "The City of the Mormons; or, Three Days at Nauvoo in 1842. By the Rev. Henry

Caswall, M. A., author of 'America and the American Church,' and Professor of Divinity in Kemper College, St. Louis, Missouri. London: Rivingtons."

It seems, that upon seeing many of his "unfortunate countrymen" passing up the river "to join Joe Smith," Professor Caswall determined to visit Nauvoo, "and, if possible, obtain an interview with the prophet himself." He accordingly "embarked on Friday, April 15, in the steamer 'Republic,' having prudently laid aside his clerical dress; and, in order to test the scholarship of the prophet, provided himself with an ancient Greek MS. of the Psalter, apparently of the thirteenth century." The professor arrived on Sunday morning, was landed on the opposite shore, and crossed the river to Nauvoo, in a canoe, where he attended "meeting," and heard several discourses from "the officiating elders." The following is his description of the congregation:—

"The temple being unfinished, about half-past ten o'clock a congregation of perhaps two thousand persons assembled in a grove, within a short distance from the sanctuary. Their appearance was quite respectable, and fully equal to that of dissenting meetings generally in the western country. Many gray-headed old men were there, and many well-dressed females. I perceived numerous groups of the peasantry of old England; their sturdy forms, their clear complexions, and their heavy movements, strongly contrasting with the slight figure, the sallow visage, and the elastic step of the American. There, too, were the bright and innocent looks of little children, who, born among the privileges of England's Church, baptized with her consecrated waters, and taught to lisp her prayers and repeat her Catechism, had now been led into this den of heresy, to listen to the ravings of a false prophet, and to imbibe the principles of a semi-pagan delusion."

We would merely inquire here, by the way, what the professor means by "dissenting meetings?" Have we here any privileged religious establishment? We are aware of no such thing—and, of course, can see no propriety or justice in denominating any body of Christians *dissenters*. Are all dissenters who are not attached to the English hierarchy? Then are the whole American people dissenters, and have been so ever since the declaration of American independence. Or are those Christian communions who did not ask the king and parliament of Great Britain for leave to organize themselves into a church in this country, after the American revolution, on that account dissenters? This would be a strange reason. But are we dissenters because we did not give up our organizations and merge ourselves in the Protestant Episcopal Church, which was the latest of all the leading Christian denominations in perfecting her organization, and is now the smallest

and least efficient of them? We judge not. We would just hint to Professor Caswall that should he see proper to return to America he had better leave a little of his *dignity* behind him.

The professor had an interview with the prophet, which he thus describes :—

“ On landing at Nauvoo, I proceeded with the doctor along the street which I mentioned before as bordering on the strand. As I advanced with my book in my hand, numerous Mormons came forth from their dwellings, begging to be allowed to see its mysterious pages; and by the time I reached the prophet's house, they amounted to a perfect crowd. I met Joseph Smith at a short distance from his dwelling, and was regularly introduced to him. I had the honor of an interview with him who is the prophet, a seer, a merchant, a ‘revelator,’ a president, an elder, an editor, and the general of the ‘Nauvoo legion.’ He is a coarse, plebeian person in aspect, and his countenance exhibits a curious mixture of the knave and the clown. His hands are large and fat, and on one of his fingers he wears a massive gold ring, upon which I saw an inscription. His dress was of coarse country manufacture, and his white hat was enveloped by a piece of black crape as a sign of mourning for his deceased brother, Don Carlos Smith, the late editor of the ‘Times and Seasons.’ His age is about thirty-five. I had not an opportunity of observing his eyes, as he appears deficient in that open, straightforward look, which characterizes an honest man. He led the way to his house, accompanied by a host of elders, bishops, preachers, and common Mormons. On entering the house, chairs were provided for the prophet and myself, while the curious and gaping crowd remained standing. I handed the book to the prophet, and begged him to explain its contents. He asked me if I had any idea of its meaning. I replied, that I believed it to be a Greek Psalter; but that I should like to hear his opinion. ‘No,’ he said; ‘it ain’t Greek at all; except, perhaps, a few words. What ain’t Greek, is Egyptian; and what ain’t Egyptian, is Greek. This book is very valuable. *It is a dictionary of Egyptian hieroglyphics.*’ Pointing to the capital letters at the commencement of each verse, he said: ‘Them figures is Egyptian hieroglyphics; and them which follows is the interpretation of the hieroglyphics, written in the reformed Egyptian. Them characters is like the letters that was engraved on the golden plates.’ Upon this the Mormons around began to congratulate me on the information I was receiving. ‘There,’ they said, ‘we told you so—we told you that our prophet would give you satisfaction. None but our prophet can explain these mysteries.’ The prophet now turned to me, and said, ‘This book ain’t of no use to you, you don’t understand it.’ ‘O, yes,’ I replied, ‘it is of some use; for if I were in want of money, I could sell it, and obtain, perhaps, enough to live on for a whole year.’ ‘But what will you take for it?’ said the prophet and his elders. ‘My price,’ I replied, ‘is higher than you would be willing to give.’ ‘What price is that?’ they eagerly demanded. I replied, ‘I will not tell you what price I would take; but if you were to offer me this moment nine hundred dollars in gold for it, you should not have it.’ They then



repeated their request that I should lend it to them until their prophet should have time to translate it, and promised me the most ample security; but I declined all their proposals. I placed the book in several envelops, and as I deliberately tied knot after knot, the countenances of many among them gradually sunk into an expression of great despondency. Having exhibited the book to the prophet, I requested him in return to show me his papyrus; and to give me his own explanation, which I had hitherto received only at second hand. He proceeded with me to his office, accompanied by the multitude. He produced the glass frames which I had seen on the previous day; but he did not appear very forward to explain the figures. I pointed to a particular hieroglyphic, and requested him to expound its meaning. No answer being returned, I looked up, and behold! the prophet had disappeared. The Mormons told me that he had just stepped out, and would probably soon return. I waited some time, but in vain: and at length descended to the street in front of the store. Here I heard the noise of wheels, and presently I saw the prophet in his wagon, flourishing his whip, and driving away as fast as two fine horses could draw him. As he disappeared from view, enveloped in a cloud of dust, I felt that I had turned over another page in the great book of human nature."

After this extract the reviewer gives us a condensed view of the professor's confab "with the surrounding Mormons, in which his ingenuity was fully put to the test," and finally closes with a "plan of emigration" put forth in the professor's book, suggested, it would seem, by the success that had attended Joe Smith's efforts in that way.

By the way, some of the reviewer's statements savor not a little of ignorance of American affairs in general, and of the facts he undertakes to represent. Whether Professor Caswall has led the reviewer astray in the matters referred to, or whether he has proceeded to his statements and executed his review without having read the book he reviews, we cannot say, as we are not able to find a copy of the work. The following quotation embraces what we especially refer to:—

"Mr. Caswall had an interview with the prophet's mother, who gave him an account of her son's early years, which clearly indicated that she was herself no dupe, but a party to the imposture. He requested her to furnish him with a 'Book of Mormon.' She accordingly permitted him to take one of the first edition, belonging to her daughter Lavinia, for which he paid the young lady a dollar. We have seen this identical volume, which has all the look of having been well read. As for the contents, they are *mainly* a hodge podge of Scripture, the purely inventive part bearing but a small proportion to the whole. In half a dozen places where we have opened, the matter is very much the sort of stuff which a vast proportion of our countrymen hear 'at

meeting' every Sunday. We should not have been the least startled to have heard it from one of our common field-preachers. It is well known now that it originated in the circumstance of a romance, composed by a Methodist preacher for his private amusement, falling into worse hands, and, after some years, appearing, a good deal enlarged, as a new revelation, pretended to be copied from certain golden plates, which Joseph Smith's mother assured Mr. Caswall she had seen and handled.

"It appears this is by no means the first delusion of the kind in these melancholy regions, which indeed are lands of darkness, and lying in the shadow of death. Mr. Caswall gives some account of another notorious deceiver, one Matthias."

Now as to the Mormon Bible, it seems the reviewer could give us, without difficulty, "the contents," and what it "mainly" consisted of, after he had "opened" only "half a dozen places." Such an examination would scarcely have enabled an ordinary mind to grasp and correctly report the "contents" of so large a work as "the Book of Mormon."

But in all these "half a dozen places—the matter is very much the sort of stuff which a vast proportion of his countrymen hear 'at meeting' every Sunday." Now we fear that the reviewer knows just as little about what is said "at meeting" as he does about the contents of the Book of Mormon, and this is almost nothing at all. For it is not true that this book is "*mainly* a hodge podge of Scripture," for the largest portion of it is made up of fictitious narrative. As to the *meetings* he refers to, they must embrace those of the Methodists, and the various other bodies of dissenters, or he could not say "a vast proportion of his countrymen" attend them "every Sunday." Now is this a true bill? Does this grave reviewer intend to say that "very much the sort of stuff" as the "hodge podge of Scripture" of the Book of Mormon, his "countrymen hear at" these meetings "every Sunday?" This is the courtesy and regard for truth which characterize the great organ of Puseyism.

Moreover, the "romance," which constituted the foundation of the Book of Mormon, was not "composed by a Methodist preacher." Spaulding, its author, had been a Congregational minister, but never a Methodist. But this is so slight an error with regard to what "is well known," that perhaps the "Critic" will think it quite immaterial.

The reviewer's lamentations over the "darkness" of "these melancholy regions," to an American, sound really ludicrous. Terrible to relate! "it appears this is by no means the first delusion of the kind in these melancholy regions, which, indeed,

are lands of darkness, and lying in the shadow of death. Mr. Caswall gives some account of another notorious deceiver, one Matthias!" Now we fear that Professor Caswall has not told the whole story, that this "one Matthias" lived and figured in and about the cities of New-York and Albany,\* and perhaps the reviewer is yet to be informed that "these melancholy regions" are within the *see* of a bishop of the true succession, and one, too, of real high-toned catholic principles.

Another item of information would not have been amiss, and that is, that Matthias never succeeded in making many disciples, perhaps for the reason that he sent no apostles over to *England*. Now had he pursued Smith's policy, there is no telling what his success might have been. In relation to Smith's converts the reviewer says: "Incredible as it may seem, the greater part of the recent converts to this extravagant delusion are directly from England—sound, enlightened, Protestant England." And Professor Caswall says, those who were "born among the privileges of England's Church, baptized with her consecrated waters, and taught to lisp her prayers, and repeat her Catechism, had now been led into this den of heresy, to listen to the ravings of a false prophet, and imbibe the principles of a semi-pagan delusion."

Alas! alas! for all this! Why is it, dear Mr. *Critic*, that when you have, with your "consecrated waters," (*holy water?*) regenerated your children, and made them members of Christ's mystical body, you do not nurse them, and prevent them from falling under this dreadful delusion, and emigrating to "these melancholy regions?" What are the shepherds doing while their poor sheep are so fatally devoured? Do, sir, try to keep them at home, where you have hospitals for the insane, and means of instruction for the ignorant, and not let them be led off into these "lands of darkness lying in the shadow of death."

All Englishmen, and other foreigners, who come to America to better their condition, and to do the country no harm, we bid a hearty welcome to the privileges and blessings of our free institutions. But we wish *English Mormons* and *paupers* to stay where

\* We would recommend to the "*Critic*" the history of Matthias and his imposture by our citizen, Colonel Stone. This book would add several important items to the second-hand and imperfect information he has gained from Professor Caswall. He would, at least, learn that dark and "melancholy" as are these "regions," there are some here who are able so far to nerve up their souls to vigorous effort, as to look through the "darkness" which is so prevalent, and to take a philosophical and moral view of the general subject of religious imposture, from which even "the *Critic*" might derive instruction.



they are. We have here "darkness" enough without an additional cloud flung over us from the old world. Being "baptized with consecrated water," we find does not always make even good citizens, much less good Christians.

But if religious "delusion" is proof of the "darkness" of the land where it occurs, would it be presumed that any such thing had ever shown itself in *glorious old England*? But where has religious fanaticism and imposture been more rife than in "sound, enlightened, and Protestant England?" To say nothing of more ancient fanatics and impostures, where lived and flourished the fifth-monarchy men? Ann Lee? Joanna Southcoat? and Edward Irving? It must be acknowledged that Joe Smith has far exceeded these English gentry in the magnitude and success of his enterprise. But so long as he *imports* the principal part of his materials, it is not so clear that this is owing to the "darkness" of the "regions" where the scene of the farce is laid.

But in conclusion we would say, that if Professor Caswall has, by his books or otherwise, contributed in any measure to confirm the prejudices of the British press against our country and our institutions; if he joins in with the blind and stupid slang of such publications as the article under consideration, we would counsel him to remain in "sound, enlightened, and Protestant England." We would advise him, that with such narrow and prejudiced views of America—not excepting the great commercial emporium and the capital of the state of New-York—he will not long be allowed to teach the youth of the enlightened, enterprising, and chivalrous west. Even a "*divinity*" chair cannot long be occupied by such a "professor" in any portion of the republic.

The professor must become *Americanized* before he will answer our purpose. He must not publish in England that he has, as says the Critic, visited "an utmost corner of the habitable globe—or the haunts of a megalotherion;" or that the evils which are, in whole or in part, *imported*, are to be set down to the credit of the country, the form of our government, or our deficiency in intelligence, or a true regard for religion. "Melancholy regions!" "Lands of darkness!!" No, Mr. Critic; you are misinformed. We have, to be sure, no *established religion*—no *beneficed clergy*—nor do we want any: no *bloated nobility*—neither have we *millions of poor perishing for bread*! We have a free constitution—religion stands upon its own broad basis—we have plenty in all our borders—only the vicious and the idle need suffer want! Where are the "melancholy regions," where the "darkness?" Dear, sir, look at home—look at Manchester!—and do not forget OXFORD!

ART. IX.—*The Works of the Right Reverend Father in God, Joseph Butler, D. C. L., late Lord Bishop of Durham. To which is prefixed an Account of the Character and Writings of the Author.* By SAMUEL HALIFAX, D. D., late Lord Bishop of Gloucester. New-York: Robert Carter. 1842.

THE press is groaning under the mighty load of "wishy-washy" trash, under the familiar cognomen of "light reading," that it is compelled to wheel out into the channels of circulation. The lover of virtue and sound knowledge cannot but mourn that so large a portion of the productions of the present day are more calculated to depress morals, to excite a morbid imagination, to give a desire of excitement and novelty, than to invigorate the intellect, or call forth and adorn the virtues of the heart. But there is here and there a bright spot, a verdant and grateful oasis, in this moral waste. Such a spot do we recognize in the volume before us. And it is a matter almost of wonder with us, that the enterprising publishers have ventured, in this novel-reading and novelty-seeking age, to get up so excellent an edition of "the Works of the Right Reverend Father in God, Joseph Butler."

The volume before us is a goodly-sized tome of rising six hundred pages, printed in plain style, with large clear type, on excellent paper. It is indeed a goodly volume to the sight, and will be highly prized by those who know the deep mines of richest metal it contains. The "Analogy" has been long before the American public; but we regret that the edition which has had the widest circulation in this country has been coupled with a misnomer, "Introductory Essay," a weak and futile attempt to engraft Calvinism upon its profound reasonings. The present volume contains not only the Analogy, but also the published sermons of Bishop Butler, his celebrated "Charge," and his letters to Dr. Samuel Clarke.

Few characters are, upon the whole, more entitled to our veneration than that of Bishop Butler. Whether we consider his steadiness of purpose, and his conscientious faithfulness as a Christian minister, both at the Rolls-chapel and at Stanhope, or the transcendent powers of the mighty intellect with which he was gifted, we cannot but be struck with admiration. There is something of the morally sublime in the contemplation of transcendent greatness consecrated to the good of our race, to the elevation and the development of the moral and intellectual powers of man. He was by no means a rich and flowery writer; nay, he is often abstruse, almost unfathomable. The bishop was himself sensible

of this deficiency ; and in a particular instance, the publication of the second edition of his sermons in 1729, he was so sensible of it as to offer an apology, at the same time endeavoring to obviate the abstruseness of the discussions in the sermons, by giving in the preface\* a synopsis or abridged statement of the principles laid down in them. His intimate friend, Secker,† also observed this defect, and is said to have done all in his power to give more perspicuity and ease to all the compositions of Butler.‡ We indeed love to contemplate the mighty intellects of other ages dressed up in their massive coats of mail. There is something of venerableness, of stern, unflinching dignity in their style, as well as in their profound elucidations of the deep and mysterious principles of our moral nature, which commands our admiration, and makes us feel that we are in the presence of transcendent genius. But yet, we cannot but regret, for the good of mankind, that Butler, like many other men of powerful intellects, should seem to have undervalued the graces of composition. We must indeed acknowledge, that while we admire his profound research, while we are astonished at the comprehensiveness of the grasp of his intellect, there is an embarrassment of language, which impedes our progress ; and a certain abstruseness of discussion, which often obliges us to retrace our steps to ascertain the scope and direction of the arguments. These defects may be more apparent now than in Butler's own age ; we doubt not but they are ; yet we think they are a serious obstacle to his usefulness, inasmuch as but comparatively few minds are capable of holding close and familiar communion with him. Most men approach his Works as they do the ancient castle, a perfect monument of the skill and architecture of a former age, to be astonished, mystified, and silenced ; but, a few approach to gather up the noble specimens of ancient skill and workmanship here exhibited, in order that the forms of modern architecture may be chastened and beautified by the perfect models of antiquity. There may be those who will express surprise at this confession of our difficulties in the study of Butler ; but to such, we can only reply, either they have not read him as we have endeavored to do, or they are gifted with powers which are not at our command. The difficulty we have here alluded to, we should have attributed to the nature of the subject, had it been confined to the "Analogy," or, indeed, to his disquisitions on morality ; for it could not be reasonable to expect that subjects so complex in their nature, should

\* This is the same preface that is prefixed to his sermons in this edition of his Works.

† Afterward archbishop of Canterbury.

‡ Ed. Encyc., Art. Butler.



be handled with the off-hand flippancy of a book of travels, nor yet with the precision and lucidness of a treatise on mechanics. But in our view it is a trait too prevalent in all his writings to be covered by such an explanation.

Since making the above confession, perhaps of our own weakness, and which, by the way, we had some hesitation in doing, and probably should not have done had we not been actuated by a conscientious desire to give a faithful account of our stewardship as reviewer, our attention has been attracted to the following passage in a recent Scottish work :—

"The principal objection which is commonly urged against the bishop's writings, is that of their obscurity. You scarcely meet with a reader of this book, [Analogy,] but who will readily enough acknowledge its superior merit, but who, at the same time, qualifies his praise by a significant shake of the head, accompanied with the remark, that it is very dry, and subtil, and difficult to be understood."—*Blakeley's History of Moral Science*, Edinburgh ed., 1836, vol. ii, p. 151.

The author, however, at the same time that he confesses that the style of Butler "is a little obscure," says he is "unable to see the justice of the above criticism." We cannot help remarking that it is singular that this complaint should be so general, that "you scarcely meet with a reader of this book" that does not make it, if indeed there is no reason for it.\*

Notwithstanding these detractions from the general merit of the writings of Butler; or perhaps it would be more proper for us to say, from their adaptation to general usefulness; they bear the impress of deep research, of profound thought, and a vigor and comprehensiveness of intellect, to which but few even of the giant intellects of other days can lay claim; and so long as the subjects concerning which they treat shall continue to interest the world, so long will they command the profound attention of the divine and the philosopher.

Bishop Butler, it appears from the brief epitome of his life that is given, was born in the year 1692, of respectable parents of the

\* Mackintosh makes the following not inapt remarks concerning the style of Butler. Speaking of the fact that his opinions and writings in ethics are not so much "rejected as overlooked," he says, "It is an instance of the importance of style. No thinker so great was ever so bad a writer. How general must have been the reception of truths so certain and momentous as those contained in Butler's discourses, if he had possessed the strength and distinctness with which Hobbes enforces odious falsehood, or the unspeakable charm of that transparent diction which clothed the unfruitful paradoxes of Berkeley!" —*Ethical Phil.*, p. 202.

Presbyterian denomination. His early predilection for study was discovered and encouraged by his parents, who sent him to an academy with the design of preparing him for a dissenting minister. It was during his pupilage, and at the early age of twenty, that his letters to Dr. Samuel Clarke were written. Dr. Clarke's celebrated demonstration of the being and attributes of God, which was at that time exciting great interest among the learned, commanded his profound attention.\* It is no mean acquisition for an ordinary mind to master that most abstruse demonstration;† but the youthful Butler was not contented without weighing the validity and consistency of the arguments, and bringing the whole subject to the test and scrutiny of his own intellect. In doing this, he thought he discovered, in one or two of the doctor's arguments, a want of precision and conclusiveness. These doubts he expressed to him in an anonymous letter, which at once demonstrates that the powers of his mighty intellect were developed, in no ordinary degree, even at that early age.‡ This letter called forth an immediate reply from

\* For a brief synopsis of the *a priori* and *a posteriori* arguments, by which Dr. S. Clarke and other acute metaphysicians have endeavored to demonstrate the being and attributes of God, see Clarke's Commentary on Rom. xi.

† With reference to this subject, Dr. Reid remarks:—"These are the speculations of men of superior genius,—but whether they be solid as sublime, or whether they be the wanderings of imagination into a region beyond the limits of the human understanding, I am unable to determine."

‡ Of the two leading objections offered by Butler to the "demonstration," we will attempt a brief statement.

1. The first objection was against a clause (affecting the validity of the whole argument) in prop. vi, in which the doctor endeavored to prove the infinity or omnipresence of the self-existing Being. The clause against which the objection is urged, is as follows:—"To suppose a finite being to be self-existent, is to say that it is a contradiction for that being not to exist, the absence of which may yet be conceived without a contradiction; which is the greatest absurdity in the world. For if a being can, without a contradiction, be absent from one place, it may, without contradiction, be absent from another place, and from all places." Upon this, Butler remarks, that supposing this to be a consequence, all that it proves is, that if a being can, without a contradiction, be absent from one place at one time, it may, without contradiction, be absent from another place at another time; and so absent from all places, at different times. But to infer that it may be absent from all places, at the *same time*, is a *non sequentia*; and hence it does not reduce the supposition to an absurdity.

2. The next objection is urged against prop. vii, in which the doctor had endeavored to demonstrate that the self-existing Being must of necessity be but one. The reasoning is as follows:—"To suppose two or more different natures existing of themselves, necessarily, and independent from each other, implies this plain contradiction: that, each of them being independent from the other, they may either of them be supposed to exist alone; so that it will be no

Dr. Clarke, and the correspondence that ensued was afterward annexed to the subsequent editions of his celebrated "Demonstration."\* As it regards the validity of this and kindred disquisitions, we should hardly venture an opinion, without occupying more space to fortify it than would be proper on the present occasion; but with regard to their power to produce conviction in the mind, as it is purely a question of fact, we are free to express our belief that they are better calculated to *silence* than to convince the objector.†

About this time, also, the subject of "non-conformity" occupied the attention of Mr. Butler; and in the end he was led to attach himself to the Church of England. This step undoubtedly was instrumental in his rapid promotion, and contributed not a little to his subsequent celebrity. He was admitted a "commoner" of Oriel College, Oxford, in 1714; and four years after, through the influence, principally, of Dr. Clarke, was appointed to the very honorable and conspicuous situation of preacher at Rolls chapel.

contradiction to imagine the other not to exist, and consequently neither of them will be necessarily existing." In his criticism upon this argument, Butler urges, that though the supposition implies, that since each of these beings is independent from the other, they may either of them be supposed to exist alone; but the inference that therefore the other may be supposed not to exist at all, does not follow as a legitimate sequence. The third idea, the link to bind the two propositions, is wanting.

Whatever may be thought of the validity of the above objections, they certainly exhibit profound thought, and an intimate acquaintance with the demonstration. We cannot but remark upon the wide contrast between this criticism of Butler, and the turgid effusion of Chalmers on the same subject. See Nat. Theol., vol. i.

\* Butler's Works, part ii, p. 284.

† Dr. T. Brown pronounces them "to be relics of the mere verbal logic of the schools, as little capable of producing conviction as any of the wildest and most absurd of the technical scholastic reasonings, on the properties or the supposed properties of entity and non-entity." In the following lines Pope seems to go a little further even than Dr. Brown:—

"Let others creep by timid steps and slow,  
On plain experience lay foundations low,  
By common sense to common knowledge bred,  
And last to nature's cause through nature led;  
We nobly take the high *priori* road,  
And reason downward till we *doubt* of God."

We are, however, far from admitting the justness of the biting sarcasm which is here aimed at Newton and Clarke. They did not reject any of the evidences of the being of a God, but sought to add to them by deducing the same conclusion from *other* principles. Nor can we exactly accord with Dr. Brown.



In 1722 "he was presented to the benefice of Haughton," between which place and the Rolls he divided his time.\* He left the Rolls chapel in 1726, and was presented to the rectory of Stanhope, one of the richest "livings" in England. Here he continued in the conscientious discharge of his ministerial duties for seven years; at the end of which time he was appointed chaplain to the lord chancellor, through the influence of his friend Secker. So completely secluded was he while at Stanhope, that when Queen Caroline, on his name being mentioned, remarked to Bishop Blackburne, she thought he was dead, he replied, "No, madam, but he is buried." In 1738 he was appointed clerk of the closet to the queen; and two years afterward, shortly after her death, he was consecrated to the see of Bristol; and in 1740 he was appointed by the king to the deanery of St. Paul's, London. In 1746 Dr. Butler was made clerk of the closet to the king; and on the 16th of October, 1750, was raised to the princely see of Durham.† He did not however long live to enjoy this elevated post in the Church; for on the 16th of June, 1752, he calmly and peacefully expired in Bath, whither his friends had conveyed him, hoping that his health might be improved by the change.

This brief synopsis of the life of this truly great man has been given in order that we may be better able to give a view of his Works. His sermons, fifteen in number, were written while at the Rolls chapel, and first published in 1726; his "Analogy" was composed while at Stanhope; his sermons on public occasions were preached while dean of St. Paul's; and his last work, the celebrated "Charge" to his clergy, was preached at his primary visitation, in 1751, after his elevation to the see of Durham, and one year prior to his death.

#### *Sermons.—System of Morality.*

The moral speculations of Bishop Butler have never called forth that profound attention and universal eulogium, that have his analogical reasonings concerning natural and revealed religion; but still they are worthy of notice, both from their intrinsic merit and the peculiar views he entertained upon the nature of moral obligation; and also for his able advocacy of the natural supremacy of conscience. These speculations are to be found in his Dissertation

\* It is observed by Selden, (Table Talk, 139,) that "the people thought they had a great victory over the clergy, when, in Henry the Eighth's time, they got a bill passed 'that a clergyman should have but two livings.'"

† Horace Walpole, we think it was, invidiously remarked, that "Butler was wafted to the see of Durham on a cloud of metaphysics."

upon the Nature of Virtue, annexed to the "Analogy;" and in his sermons, which might properly be titled "Dissertations upon Human Nature." These sermons were written while yet he was fresh from the schools;\* and exhibit much of that enthusiasm, with which a mind conscious of its powers, and delighting to exercise its strength, would be likely to rush forward into the regions of abstruse speculation, and delight itself in wielding the ponderous weapons of abstract reasoning.

The manner in which the bishop has treated of morals, is precisely the same, in point of principle, as that in which he has treated of natural and revealed religion.† Indeed, we think the intelligent reader will not fail to discover the embryo "Analogy" in his sermons; and especially in the three sermons "On Human Nature," and that "On the Ignorance of Man."

He has observed in his sixth sermon:—

"There is a much more exact correspondence between the natural and moral world, than we are apt to take notice of. The inward frame of man does in a peculiar manner answer to the external condition and circumstances of life, in which he is placed. This is a particular instance of that general observation of the son of Sirach: *All things are double one against another, and God hath made nothing imperfect.* Ecclus. xiii, 24. The several passions and affections in the heart of man, compared with the circumstances of life in which he is placed, afford, to such as will attend to them, as certain instances of final causes, as any whatever, which are more commonly alledged for such: since these affections lead him to a certain determinate course of action, suitable to those circumstances. And as all observations of final causes, drawn from the principles of action in the heart of man, compared with the condition he is placed in, serve all the good uses which instances of final causes in the material world about us do; and both these are equally proofs of wisdom and design in the Author of nature; so the former serve to further good purposes; they show us what course of life we are made for, what is our duty, and in a peculiar manner enforce upon us the practice of it."—*Works*, part ii, p. 74.

This passage opens a wide field for discussion, and imbodyes the fundamental element of his principles of morality. Accordingly his system is built, in one sense, upon facts in the experience and observation of man. It consists not in utility, using that term in its Paleyan sense; nor yet in the will of God, as generally understood; nor yet exactly in the eternal fitness of things, as Clarke and Wollaston have it; or in following nature, as the ancient schools express it; but in following those views with which nature

\* Mackintosh on Ethical Philosophy.

† Blakeley's History of Moral Science.

has furnished us particular powers and faculties.\* Thus, to obtain a correct and accurate knowledge of the moral constitution, that constitution must be brought to examination; it must be brought to the test of facts—facts revealed in the experience and consciousness of men. We are to ascertain the relations which exist between our moral constitutions and physical objects, so as to enable us to pursue such a course of conduct as the conditions of our being demand. Nor will our study be so difficult, or our reasonings be so inconclusive, as some might imagine. We think there is less difficulty in discovering the course of duty than most men are apt to imagine; and that there are more frequent violations of the laws of our moral being from disinclination to obey, than from incapacity or want of means to enable us to understand them—even among those least enlightened. “The Author of our nature has much better furnished us for a virtuous conduct than our moralists seem to imagine, by almost as quick and powerful instructions, as we have for the preservation of our bodies.”† By carefully examining our bodies, their structure and their relation to the things which surround them, we are led to many important conclusions respecting the proper use of our faculties, and the principles that should regulate and govern them. We, for instance, are endowed with organs of sense; each adapted to certain functions, and all suited to their respective offices and relations. A little experience is sufficient to inform us of the proper use of these faculties, the objects of their endowment, and the laws by which they should be regulated. But if we look within us, we discover certain feelings and perceptions which bear in many respects a strong analogy to our bodily senses. These inward feelings, universal in their prevalence, give as clear evidence of design, of final cause, as do our bodily senses; hence they will serve to unravel some of the conditions or laws of our moral being. Thus, for instance, the great principle, benevolence, fellow-feeling, or love, is given as a bond to unite, for general and individual interest, the brotherhood of man; the feeling of shame is to prevent our doing things of an indecent or shameful nature; pity prompts us to relieve the necessitous; and resentment prompts us to repel the violences and insults we may receive from others.‡ And were we to extend our inquiries into the other sentiments and impulses of our nature, we should find that each has its peculiar object and office; so that not one sentiment, not one capacity, not one impulse or power but has its final

\* Rees's Encyc., Art. Butler.

† Dr. Hutcheson's Inquiry concerning Moral Good and Evil.

‡ See Sermon I, On Human Nature.



cause as clearly and as distinctly as has any arrangement in the natural world.

But this is not all.

"If the real nature of any creature leads him, and is adapted to such and such purposes only, or more than to any other; this is a reason to believe the Author of that nature intended it for these purposes. Thus, there is no doubt the eye was intended for us to see with. And the more complex any constitution is, and the greater variety of parts there are which thus tend to some one end, the stronger is the proof that such end was designed."—*Sermon II, On Human Nature.*

"Now, obligations of virtue shown, and motives to the practice of it enforced, from a review of the nature of man, are to be considered as an appeal to each particular person's heart and natural conscience; as the external senses are appealed to for the proof of things cognizable by them. Since then our inward feelings, and the perceptions we receive from our external senses, are equally real; to argue from the former to life and conduct is as little liable to exception, as to argue from the latter to absolute speculative truth. A man can as little doubt whether his eyes were given him to see with, as he can doubt of the truth of the science of *optics*, deduced from ocular experiments. And allowing the inward feeling, shame; a man can as little doubt whether it were given him to prevent his doing shameful actions, as he can doubt whether his eyes were given him to guide his steps. And as to these inward feelings themselves, they are real; that man has in his nature passions and affections, can no more be questioned, than that he has external senses. Neither can the former be wholly mistaken; though to a certain degree liable to greater mistakes than the latter."—*Human Nature, Sermon II, p. 38.*

These passages give us no faint view of the fundamental elements of the system of morals advocated by Bishop Butler, and we find these principles drawn out and amplified in his Works.

Hence, the study of the natural principles of morality resolves itself into an investigation of the *final causes* of those active principles, which, on a careful inspection, we find inherent in our nature. We are first to ascertain what these principles *are*; and then, to determine the relative position they occupy with reference to each other. In a word, we are to investigate the complicated structure of our moral nature just as we would a piece of machinery, a watch, or a clock, for instance.\* It is indeed no province of ours to consider what might have been the constitution of our nature, or of the world at large; but we are to take things as they are; we are to attend to what is made, and to ascertain the relations and connections that *are* established. Not, indeed, to fit the materials before us to such a system as we may conceive would be for the best, but to study out the natural fitness of these materials, and their mutual

\* Wayland's Moral Science, p. 63.

adaptation; and thus to discover the *system*, by no means dimly shadowed forth in the ample materials around us. Thus, in investigating the properties of the watch or clock, we would not form our notions of the order of the parts, and then force them into a juxta-position for which they were unfit; but our main inquiry should be—*what were the designs of the author* with reference to this spring and that screw, this wheel and that regulator; what is the natural order, the mutual adaptation of these various and complicate parts? Our progress might indeed be slow and tiresome; but it is the only sure and safe mode of procedure.

But human nature is not made up of instincts, appetites, and affections, alone. There is a higher principle that presides over these as a common arbiter and judge.

“There is a principle of reflection in men, by which they distinguish between, approve, and disapprove their own actions. We are plainly constituted such creatures as to reflect upon our own nature. The mind can take a view of what passes within itself, its propensions, aversions, passions, affections, as respecting such objects, and in such degrees; and of the several actions consequent thereupon. In this survey it approves of one, disapproves of another, and toward a third is affected in neither of these ways, but is quite indifferent. This principle in man, by which he approves or disapproves his heart, temper, and actions, is conscience.”—*Sermon I, On Human Nature*, p. 31.

Again, the bishop says, to the same purpose:—

“But there is a superior principle of reflection or conscience in every man, which distinguishes between the internal principles of his heart, as well as his external actions; which passes judgment upon himself and them; pronounces determinately some actions to be in themselves just, right, good; others to be in themselves evil, wrong, unjust; which without being consulted, without being advised with, majesterially exerts itself, approves or condemns him the doer of them accordingly; and which, if not forcibly stopped, naturally and always, of course, goes on to anticipate a higher and more effectual sentence, which shall hereafter second and affirm its own.”—*Sermon II, On Human Nature*, p. 42.

It will be observed that the bishop in this passage presents *conscience*, or the *moral sense*, under two points of view:—First, as passing a judicial decision upon our actions, as being good or bad, virtuous or vicious: second, as exciting an apprehension or presentiment of future punishment if we violate its dictates; and punishment, too, proceeding from a higher and more authoritative source. The same conscience which asserts its own supremacy within the breast, suggests the God and the moral Governor that placed it there.\* It comes indeed as an executive officer, endowed

\* “Nevertheless, the same conscience which tells what is sound in ethics, is ever and anon suggesting what is sound in theology—that we have to do with

with plenary powers to pronounce its decision and execute its penalty; but at the same time announces itself to be the minister of a higher power: it at once shows its high commission in the intimation that it does this "not of itself," and forewarns the offender of the still more terrific penalties of a Judge from whose decision there is no appeal, and from whose penalties there is no escape.\* It is thus that man not only takes cognizance of his own delinquencies, but connects them with the thought of a Lawgiver to whom he is accountable. He passes, by one step, and with rapid inference, from the feeling of a judge who is within, to the fear of a Judge who sits in high authority over him. Such we believe to be the condition of our moral being, that with a consciousness of an arbitrating and authoritative principle within us, there stands associated the deep and irreversible conviction of a judging and reigning power in the universe—without us, indeed, but over us, and over all.† To this conviction the hardest in guilt are not wholly insensible. There is, in spite of themselves, the impression of an avenging God; they pass from the reckoning of a felt and a present conscience within, to the more awful reckoning of a Judge who knoweth all things.‡

This is undoubtedly a universal, if it be not an instinctive impulse of our nature. Wayland has very properly remarked that "the various impulses of which we find ourselves susceptible, can differ only in two respects, that of *strength* and that of *authority*."§ Now as it regards the mere strength of our impulses, they will evidently vary according to our former conduct, our habits of living. We will not undertake to say what strength certain protuberances upon the cranium may give to those several impulses of our nature that are susceptible of classification and arrangement; but we think that no truth, that rests upon human experience and observation, can be more amply confirmed than that the strength of our impulses increases in proportion to their indulgence. Hence, with the epicure and the inebriate, appetite has acquired the ascendancy. But it is an ascendancy of *strength*, of mere brute force, and not of *authority*. Take the inebriate, consider well his case in this respect; he is sensible of the wrong he does by following

a God of truth, that we have to do with a God of righteousness."—*Chalmers' Nat. Theol.*, vol ii, p. 208.

\* "Conscience is felt to act as the delegate of an invisible ruler."—*Blair*.

† "The mind of man hath near affinity to God."—*Aristotle*.

‡ See Chalmers on "The Capacities of the World for making a Virtuous Species happy."

§ Moral Science, ch. ii, sec. 3.



his base propensity; there is something yet within him whose authority he acknowledges, at the very moment that he is borne down by appetite. The conquest that the lower passions sometimes gain over the higher principles of our moral nature, is a conquest of strength against right, against authority. And however complete may be the conquest, however great may be the triumph of *strength*, it can never attain the *authority* of rectitude. Conscience may be borne down, dethroned, and banished from its rightful empire; but like the exiled monarch, it never once abdicates its crown and surrenders its authority; it waits only for the returning dawn of reason to enable it to reassert its authority and enter upon the possession of its disputed rights. We can well justify the expression of Butler concerning the conscience—"Had it *strength*, as it has *right*; had it power, as it has manifest authority, it would absolutely govern the world."\* Conscience then is defective, not from want of authority, but from want of strength to enforce its authority. "Conscience may forbid the will to contribute to the gratification of a desire. No desire ever forbids will to obey conscience."† However strong may be the desire of outward gratification, still conscience sternly demands a virtuous direction of the will. The truth of this is attested by the consciousness of every moral agent; and the mental relation it exhibits, fully justifies, if it do not explain, "that attribution of supremacy and command to the conscience on which moral writers have so often insisted."‡

"Passion or appetite implies a direct simple tendency toward such and such objects, without distinction of the means by which they are to be obtained. Consequently it will often happen there will be a desire of particular objects, in cases where they cannot be obtained without manifest injury to others. Reflection or conscience comes in, and disapproves the pursuit of them in these circumstances; but the desire remains. Which is to be obeyed, appetite or reflection? Cannot this question be answered, from the economy and constitution of human nature merely, without saying which is strongest? Or need this at all come into consideration? Would not the question be *intelligibly* and fully answered by saying, that the principle of reflection or conscience being compared with the various appetites, passions, and affections in men, the former is manifestly superior and chief, without regard to strength? And how often soever the latter happens to prevail, it is mere *usurpation*; the former remains in nature and in kind its superior; and every instance of such prevalence of the latter is an instance of breaking in upon and violation of the constitution of man."—*Sermon II*, part ii, pp. 44, 45.

\* Sermon II, p. 45.

† Mackintosh on Ethical Philosophy, p. 199.

‡ Wherell's Pref. to Eth. Phil., p. 38.

Bishop Butler is clear and emphatic in giving to conscience an entire and absolute supremacy over the other impulses of our nature. The principles he has here developed, are drawn out with great precision, and embellished with apt illustrations by President Wayland in his most excellent treatise on Moral Science.\* We are not sure, however, that Mackintosh is quite right, in ascribing to Butler, as we think he does, the merit of having first brought to light the independent existence and supremacy of conscience as a moral faculty.† Moralists who have spoken of a moral sense, have, we think, often exhibited the same principle under another form and name.‡ Nor should it be forgotten that the ancient moralists and philosophers have had some distinct notions of this elementary truth in the theory of morals. Indeed, we can subscribe to the sentiment of Dymond, from whom the following quotations have been made, that even their language, in which they described this relation of the moral faculty, is much more distinct and satisfactory than that of the refined inquirers of the present day.§ Marcus Antonius says,—“He who is well disposed will do every thing dictated by the divinity,—a particle or portion of himself, which God has given to each as a guide and a leader.”|| Aristotle says, “The mind of man hath a near affinity to God; there is a divine ruler in him.” Plutarch says, “The light of truth is a law, not written in tables or books, but dwelling in the mind, always a living rule which never permits the soul to be destitute of an interior guide.” Hieron says, that the universal light, shining in the conscience, is “a domestic god, a god within the hearts and souls of men.” Epictetus says, “God has assigned to each man a director, his own good genius, a guardian, whose vigilance no slumbers interrupt, and whom no false reasonings can deceive. So that when you have shut your door, say not that you are alone, for your god is within. What need have you of outward light to discover that, or to light to good actions, who have god, or that genius, or divine principle for your light?”¶ Such citations might be greatly multiplied, but one more must suffice. Seneca says, “We find felicity in a pure, untainted mind, which, if it were not holy, were not fit to entertain the Deity.” And again, “There is a holy spirit in us.”\*\* These passages from ancient writers certainly portray, in no faint colors, an indwelling and authoritative principle in the nature of man. Of its existence no one can be ignorant; its authority none can dis-

\* Chap. iii.

† Eth. Phil., p. 94, et seq.

‡ See Hutcheson on the Moral Sense, also Shaftesbury's Characteristics.

§ Dymond's Essays on the Principles of Morality, Ess. i, ch. 6.

|| Lib. 5, sec. 27.

¶ Lib. i, c. 14.

\*\* De Benef., c. 17, &amp;c.

pute. The teachings of nature and the language of revelation are coincident. How striking are the coincidences between Seneca and Paul! "Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you? If any man defile the temple of God, him shall God destroy; for the temple of God is holy." 1 Cor. iii, 16, 17.

The method of investigating the principles of morality, adopted by Bishop Butler, is both simple and natural. A mind of such vast powers, so replete with knowledge, and so patient in research, might reasonably have been expected, under the guidance of so simple and natural a theory, and stimulated by an ardent love of truth, to produce results corresponding to the magnitude of the subject. But in the present case we are disappointed. Bishop Butler's speculations on morals have never attracted that attention in the learned world that might have been expected. The outset is promising; elementary truths of great value and of wide application are developed; but there is a want of completeness in the details of his system. Many a noble palace has been reared by our modern architects from the huge blocks he rived from the quarry of truth. What he left unpolished and inept, they have beautified and harmonized. To discover and define the simple elements of a system may be but the work of a moment; but to trace out these elements into their innumerable and multifarious applications is an accomplishment of great labor, requiring the nicest discrimination, united with the profoundest reflection. This Butler seems never to have done. And to this circumstance, combined with his obscure diction, is probably owing the fact that while more recent builders have found in his writings a vast magazine replete with *materials*, he seems to be almost overlooked as a moralist.

According to the system of Bishop Butler, man, considered as a whole, man in his complex nature, made up of intellect and sensibilities under their various forms, constitutes an entire and perfect system, with parts aptly fitted to their several offices, and all conjoined into harmonious action. For the whole machinery to operate according to its natural fitness, or for the parts to act according to their natural fitness in their subordinate relation, is for the whole or the part to act *virtuously*. Hence the frequent use of the term, "*acting according to nature*," which is so often used by Butler and the class of moralists to which he belonged. It is thus explained by Bishop Butler:—

"The natural supremacy of reflection or conscience being thus established, we may from it form a distinct notion of what is meant by



*human nature*, when virtue is said to consist in following it, and vice in deviating from it.

"As the idea of a civil constitution implies in it united strength, various subordinations, under one direction, that of the supreme authority; the different strength of each particular member of the society not coming into the idea; whereas, if you leave out the subordination, the union, and the one direction, you destroy and lose it: so reason, several appetites, passions, and affections, prevailing in different degrees of strength, is not *that* idea or notion of *human nature*; but *that nature* consists in those several principles as having a natural respect for each other, in the several passions being naturally subordinate to the one superior principle of reflection or conscience. Every bias, instinct, propension within, is a natural part of our nature, but not the whole: add to these the superior faculty, whose office it is to adjust, manage, and preside over them, and take in this its natural superiority, and you complete the idea of human nature."—*Sermon III.*

The theory of morals presented by Butler seems to have been gathered, in part, from the ancient schools and the metaphysicians that immediately preceded him; and in part, from his own profound reflections. The ideas which he afterward brought out and enriched, are by no means faintly portrayed by several who preceded him. The intelligent reader will discover no faint analogy between the following passages, and the principles proposed by Bishop Butler. Dr. Cudworth, who, in his day, was as loudly, maliciously, and I may say ignorantly, charged with Atheism, as some philosophers in our own day,\* holds forth the following language concerning the eternal and immutable nature of virtue:—"Moral good and evil, just and unjust, honest and dishonest, cannot possibly be arbitrary things, made by will without nature; because it is universally true that things are what they are, not by will, but by nature."†—"It is not possible that any command of God or man should oblige otherwise than by virtue of that which is φύσει δίκαιον, naturally just."‡ Mr. Wollaston says: "Every act, therefore, of a free, intelligent agent, and all those omissions which interfere with truth,

\* Cudworth endeavored to launch out into the immensity of the intellectual system, to penetrate the darkest recesses of antiquity, in order that he might attack Atheism in every form, strip it of all its disguises, and drag it forth to conviction. And yet the popular clamor ran against him; and those who could neither comprehend the theories nor fathom his refutation of them, did not scruple "to tell the world that he was an Atheist in his heart, and an Arian in his book." Suffering from the influence of this base calumny, and groundless prejudice, the much-injured author grew disgusted; his ardor slackened; and the rest, and far the greater part of the defense, never appeared." See *Pref. Int. Sys. Universe.*

† *Intellectual System of the Universe*, vol. ii, p. 373. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 378.

are morally evil in some degree or other ; the forbearing such acts, and the acting in opposition to such omissions, are morally good.”\*

Prop. ix. Again, he says, “That every intelligent, active, and free agent, should so behave himself, as by no act to contradict truth ; or that he should treat every thing as being what it is.”

Prop. xi. Dr. Samuel Clarke, who was contemporary with Wollaston, has stated, we think, the same principle, though far less intelligibly :—“From the eternal and necessary differences of things, there naturally and necessarily result, certain moral obligations, which are of themselves incumbent on all rational creatures, antecedent to positive institutions, and all expectations of rewards and punishments.”† Prop. i.

We are aware that this “fitness of things,” or “acting according to truth,” or still again, “acting according to nature,”—all of which expressions, when properly explained and illustrated, in our view, mean nearly the same thing,—have been met not merely by subtil argumentation, but also by the strongest ridicule. But with all due deference to the great metaphysicians who have entered into this crusade, we cannot but think that they have misunderstood, or at least misinterpreted, the true meaning and import of the above phrases ; or, at least, have given to them a very different construction from that which their framers designed. Dr. Rutherford, in his “*Essay on the Nature and Obligations of Virtue*,” combats the theory of Wollaston and Clarke. He urges that if mere *fitness of application* constitutes virtue, and the contrary vice, then the things that are naturally fit or unfit to be done, would be invested with the qualities of virtue or vice. Thus, there is a natural fitness in a person’s applying the force to the longer arm of the lever in order to raise a weight, and there is a natural unfitness in applying it to the shorter arm ; hence, by this theory, the former act is virtuous, while the latter is vicious.‡ Again, Dr. Brown, who also combats the views of Wollaston and Clarke concerning the fitness of things, aims a hard thrust at Wollaston : “Who, but the author of such a system, could believe for a moment, that parricide is a crime, only for the same reason that would make it a crime for any one (and if the great principle of the system be just, a crime exactly of the same amount) to walk across a room on his hands and feet, because he would then be guilty of the practical untruth of using his hands, but as if they were his feet,—as, in parricide, he would be

\* Religion of Nature Delineated.

† Blakeley’s Hist. Mor. Sci., vol. i, p. 211.

‡ Blakeley’s History of Moral Science, vol. ii, pp. 41, 42.

guilty of the practical untruth of treating a parent, as if he were not a parent, but a robber or a murderer?"\*

These are, indeed, sweeping objections, objections that a child might see and appreciate. The very ease with which the fabric is demolished excites in us suspicion of unfairness or misapprehension. And here we regret our limited acquaintance with the writings, especially of Wollaston, for we confess that reading the works of his opponents has made us feel a profound respect for the man, as a man and a philosopher; though we confess ourselves more cautious about becoming the disciple of his theory. But yet we cannot but suspect, from the very ease with which his opponents demolish what is held up as his system, some secret fallacy,—that it is some "man of straw," and not the real "giant," with which they have "played war."

We are led, then, to inquire, not what is its common acceptation, but what is the technical meaning of the term, "fitness of things," or its meaning as used by those authors who have based their systems of morality upon it. Dr. Brown, with perfect self-complacency, demolishes the entire fabric that had cost Dr. Clarke years and years of toil to rear, profound in research, and mighty in reason as he was. With him, "the system of Dr. Clarke, if stripped of its pompous phraseology, and translated into common language, is nothing more than the very simple trueism or tautology, that to act *virtuously* is to act *in conformity with virtue*."† Thus, with one dash of the pen, is demolished that fabric which cost a master builder no little labor.

The question arises, then, whether Brown did not misinterpret the meaning of the terms adopted and applied by Dr. Clarke. We think he did. For, we do not understand the term, in its technical use, to "make *incongruity*—which, as mere *incongruity*, bears no proportion to vice, but is often greatest in the most frivolous improprieties—the *measure* of vice;"‡ nor to make *congruity*, considered simply as such, the standard of virtue. There is, indeed, abundant evidence that Dr. Clarke, by the *fitness of things*, does not mean the various relations which exist among things in general, but more particularly to express the fitness of certain acts to produce pleasure, and of others to produce pain: hence the former, from this *fitness*, are called virtuous; and the latter, for the same reason, called vicious. That this is the true explanation of these terms is evident from two considerations. First, there is as much fitness (using the term as merely expressive of *congruity*) in the application of means, frequently, for vicious as for virtuous purposes. And

\* Brown's Phil., vol. ii, p. 265. † Ibid., p. 264. ‡ Ibid., p. 263.



again, the term fitness is evidently used as being entirely synonymous with *good*; while unfitness is used as synonymous with *evil*. Nor can any careful reader but be convinced that these terms are used with a direct reference to the *ends*, or *final causes* of actions. This fitness of things is in our view but another way of expressing the eternal and immutable nature of virtue; that is, that virtue has in itself an intrinsic and eternal nature, and that the voice of God, so far from rendering a thing virtuous, does but proclaim what is in itself virtuous.

Nor do we think that Wollaston, whatever may have been the extravagances of his theory, is treated with fairness and candor with regard to his great moral precept, that every intelligent and free agent "should so behave himself, as not to contradict truth;" and that we should "treat every thing as being what it really is." The essence of this theory is thus summed up in a few words by Blakeley:—

"For men to practice vice with a view of obtaining permanent pleasure and advantage from it, is, in fact, to deny that virtue, which is closely and inseparably connected with our welfare, *is what it really is in nature*. The essence of virtue is happiness, and to seek happiness from any other source, is to deny the truth of the relation which subsists between virtue and our well-being."—*Hist. Mor. Sci.*, vol. i, p. 206.

Brown's general misconception of the systems of Wollaston and Clarke, then, resulted from the wrong construction given to the word "fitness." "Fitness," he says, "as understood by every one, is obviously a word expressive only of *relation*. It indicates skill, indeed, in the artist, whatever the end may be; but, considered abstractly from the nature of the *end*, it is indicative of *skill only*."\* We think that we have clearly shown that both Wollaston and Clarke designed, by the term fitness, to include the *end*, or final cause of any moral action.† Dr. Brown, by excluding this, gives a wrong interpretation to their systems. Indeed, if fitness mean merely "*congruity*," the system of Wollaston and Clarke would utterly annihilate all moral distinctions whatever. They would resolve it into a mere intellectual perception of adaptation or non-adaptation. It is a hit of the author just referred to, not inapt, when he supposes that Wollaston, had he seen the criticism of Dr. Brown, before quoted, would have replied to it in nearly these words :‡—

"To treat the act of walking across a room on our hands and feet as a crime of just the same importance as that of maliciously taking away the life of a parent, would surely be an absurdity, if not absolute dis-

\* *Phil.*, vol. ii. † Blakeley's *Hist. Mor. Sci.*, vol. i, p. 230. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 197.

traction. And why? Because this would be treating the act of walking on all fours across a room *as being what it is not.*"

But our space will not admit of our pursuing this topic further. We have said enough to show the intimate relationship between the systems of the distinguished metaphysicians that preceded Bishop Butler, and that which is exhibited in his writings. Butler, indeed, gives greater prominence to the *final cause*, that is, he is explicit where they are obscure. He observes :\*—

"It may be allowed, without any prejudice to the cause of virtue and religion, that our ideas of happiness or misery, are of all our ideas the nearest and most important to us ; that they will, nay, if you please, they ought to prevail over those of order, and beauty, and harmony, and propension, if there should ever be, as it is impossible there ever should be, any inconsistency between them ; though these last, too, as expressing the fitness of actions, are real as truth itself. Let it be allowed, though virtue or moral rectitude does, indeed, consist in affection to, and pursuit of what is right and good, as such ; yet, that when we sit down in a cool hour, we can neither justify to ourselves this or any other pursuit, till we are convinced that it will be for our own happiness, or at least not contrary to it."—*Sermon XI, upon the Love of our Neighbor.*

With one single remark, we must leave this part of our subject. It may be objected to the view we have taken of Dr. Clarke's system, that he strenuously urged that virtue is binding upon us on account of its eternal and immutable nature, and its complete independence of all rewards and punishments, effects and consequences. But in opposition to this he also says : "It is neither possible, nor truly *reasonable*, that men by adhering to virtue should part with their lives, if therefore they eternally deprived themselves of all possibility of receiving any advantage from that adherence." If these two sentiments conflict with each other, that is no concern of ours ; we believe the last, properly interpreted, is not inconsistent with the general tenor of his system.

We would prosecute this inquiry still further, and endeavor to show how the system of Bishop Butler quadrates with that of the leading moralists of the present day ; but we have already transcended our limits.

#### *Bishop Butler's Charge to his Clergy.*

It will be departing from the chronological order of his writings, but may not be amiss in this place, to take some notice of his celebrated "Charge" delivered to the clergy of his diocese, at his primary visitation in 1751, one year before his death.

\* Works, part ii, p. 138.

The principal object of this discourse is the "*importance of external religion*." He very sincerely joins in lamenting the "general decay of religion in the British nation."\* This decay of religion in the generality of the common people, however, he does not attribute to any speculative disbelief or denial of it; but chiefly to thoughtlessness and the common temptations of life.†

Hence, says the bishop to his clergy:—

"Your chief business is, therefore, to beget a practical sense of it [religion] upon their hearts, as what they acknowledge their belief of, and confess they ought to conform themselves to. And this is to be done by keeping up the *form* and *face* of religion with decency and reverence, and in such a degree as to bring the thoughts of religion often to their minds; and then endeavoring to make this form more and more subservient to promote the reality and power of it. The form of religion may indeed be where there is little of the thing itself; but the thing itself cannot be preserved among mankind without the form."—*Works*, part ii, p. 272.

We were peculiarly struck with this passage, and especially the stress it lays upon keeping up the *form and face of religion*. The end for which this is to be done, it is true, is specified; it is to promote the reality and power of religion in the heart and the life. But is there not too much stress laid upon the mere forms of external religion? and would not the practice here commended to, and urged upon, the clergy, tend more to fashion such Christians as "make clean the outside of the cup and platter, but within are full of extortion and excess?" We cannot help contrasting the language of the bishop with that of our Saviour, spoken to a people and sect whose circumstances were not very dissimilar (we hope we shall not be accused of uncharitableness) to those of many portions of the English Church in Butler's day. "Wo unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye make clean the outside of the cup and of the platter, but within they are full of extortion and excess. Thou blind Pharisee, cleanse first that which is within the cup and platter, that the outside of them may be clean also. Wo unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye are like unto whited sepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful outward, but within are full of dead men's bones, and of all uncleanness." Matt. xxiii, 25–27.

I am aware, indeed, that since man is a complex being, composed of body and of mind, each exerting a reciprocal influence on the other, that a purely spiritual religion, a religion stripped of every thing that is addressed to sense, if indeed it be not utterly

\* Charge, p. 266.

† Ibid., p. 272.



impossible, would be at best but a cold and lifeless abstraction. But, on the other hand, it should not be forgotten that these very rites and ceremonies, the pomp and display of churches and processions, have a tendency to draw away the mind from spiritual communings. It is easier to accede to the externals of religion, than to cultivate its graces; and the mind is prone to take the *sign* for the substance. It is certainly remarkable that Bishop Butler could devise no better way in which to revive "vital religion in the land," than to recommend a reanimation and revivification of its "form and face."

But what are these forms of external religion that are to be revived, these signs and symbols that are to be put up as so many admonishers of religion and duty? Upon this subject the bishop is not very explicit; but it would be just to infer that since the separation of the Church of England from the "Mother Church," she had declined in her observance of the external rites of religion, and that they had in consequence declined in the regards and estimation of the people. Such seems to be the import of the following passage:—

"In most ages of the church, the care of reasonable men has been, as there has been for the most part occasion, to draw the people off from laying too great weight upon external things, upon formal acts of piety. But the state of matters is now quite changed with us. These things are neglected to a degree which is, and cannot but be, attended with a decay of all that is good. It is highly seasonable now to instruct the people in the importance of external religion."—*Works*, part ii, p. 276.

And again, we cannot but think that the following passage savors largely of deep sympathy with Popish superstitions and rites:—

"That which men have accounted religion in the several countries of the world, generally speaking, has had a great and conspicuous part in all public appearances; and the face of it been kept up with great reverence throughout all ranks, from the highest to the lowest; not only upon occasional solemnities, but also in the daily course of behavior. In the heathen world, their religion was the chief subject of statuary, sculpture, painting, and poetry. It mixed itself with business, civil forms, diversions, domestic entertainments, and every part of common life. The Mohammedans are obliged to short devotions five times between morning and evening. In Roman Catholic countries, people cannot pass a day without having religion recalled to their thoughts, by some or other memorial of it; by some ceremony or public religious form occurring in their way; besides their frequent holydays, the short prayers they are daily called to, and the occasional devotion enjoined by confessors. By these means their superstition sinks deep into the minds of the people, and their religion also sinks deep into the

minds of such among them as are serious and well disposed. Our reformers, considering that some of these observances were in themselves wrong and superstitious, and others of them made subservient to the purposes of superstition, abolished them, reduced the form of religion to great simplicity, and enjoined no more particular rules, nor left any thing more of what was external in religion, than was in a manner necessary to preserve a sense of religion itself upon the minds of the people."—*Works*, part ii, pp. 273, 274.

We cannot but regret to discover here what we conceive to be a too complacent regard for the ceremonies and pomp of the Roman Catholic and Mohammedan religions; as well as a broad insinuation that, as is the case with their religion, so ours should have "a great and conspicuous part in all public appearances." Here is also an intimation that the same means which cause superstition to "sink down into the minds of the people;" will also cause "religion to sink down into the minds of such among them as are well disposed." We are also struck at the gentle rebuke administered to "our reformers" for cutting off so many of the "externals of religion," as though the decline of piety which the bishop deplored might be traced to this cause. In looking over this and kindred passages, which, like so many dark spots, obscure the lustre of his philosophy, we cannot but feel that the bishop, though versed deeply in the philosophical principles of religion, had mistaken one of the fundamental characteristics of the gospel. He understood the philosophy of religion; he knew how to draw out and illustrate the sublime moral truths of Christianity; but in the mode of inculcating these truths we think he greatly erred. Instead of enlightening the minds, and thus reaching the hearts and lives of the people, he would inculcate the use of imposing signs and ceremonies, that would cause within them a superstitious reverence for the religion which was but little comprehended, and which was loved only through the medium of its symbols. The religious education of the young seems also to be overlooked, and keeping up the "form and face" of religion is the chief reliance. How great is the contrast between the course here urged, and that pursued by the most effective reformers in every age of the church? Wesley, fired with the love of God and a burning desire for the salvation of the multitudes that were living indeed in the daily observance of the "form and face" of religion, yet without knowledge or care for its power, went forth, like a blazing sun, into every part of the kingdom. And though no sanction of royal patronage gave him authority, though no splendid cathedral opened its portals for his reception, and no august or imposing ceremonies filled the listening multitudes with superstitious awe; yet there was an artless

sincerity in his manner, a divine energy in his delivery, as he proclaimed the messages of the gospel in the highways and beneath the open heavens, that took hold of the hearts and consciences of those who were truly "dead in trespasses and sins." He went forth; the "bleeding wounds of the Redeemer" were his "five smooth stones out of the brook," and "faith" the "sling that was in his hand;" but before him the hosts of the uncircumcised fell; and by his labors a reformation was commenced, under whose influence the whole Christian world has been quickened, and which has rescued many a soul from the deep dark pit-falls of moral death, and held them on high as "brands plucked from the burning," trophies of redeeming mercy,—and placed them as stars in the firmament for ever and ever.

Had the bishop forgotten that the divine Redeemer came not with parade, and pomp, and imposing procession? Had he forgotten the beautiful, yet sublime simplicity of the Saviour's life and teachings? Had he overlooked the unostentatious rites he instituted?—rites, which, though they might not have formed "a great and conspicuous part in all public appearances," nevertheless, spoke to the heart, and quickened the faith of the sincere and devoted Christian. We have made these comments, not with a malignant desire to asperse the character of the illustrious dead, but with unfeigned sorrow that one so sincere and devoted as we believe Butler to have been—one who had done so much to draw out and establish the philosophical principles of the Christian religion—should so far have mistaken its vital energies. It may be necessary for a church to appeal to imposing rites and ceremonies, to splendid edifices and princely pageantry, in order to maintain its hold upon the "superstitions," if not the *affections* of the people; but it is necessary only when the vital energies of religion are lost, and the spirit and genius of the gospel have departed. When these have gone, a church may indeed find a resort to "man's devices," to "the cunning craftiness of the world," necessary in order to maintain her ascendancy; and her ministers may be obliged, while wanting Heaven's "seals to their ministry," the "epistles known and read of all men," to flee to the, at least, doubtful question of "uninterrupted succession," to prove their claims to be "the only properly authorized ministry."

*Bishop Butler inclined to Popery.*

It may be proper in this connection to bestow a passing notice on the above charge, as, if it was not suspected of him while living, it was strongly urged after his death, and indeed, even to this day,



forms a prominent item in the discussion of his character. We shall not enter the list as a partizan in favor of the bishop, much as we admire his character and writings; for we think it is an unquestionable fact that he regarded with too much complacency the imposing pomp of religious rites and ceremonies; but whether this is to be considered any stronger evidence of his being inclined to the Catholic, than to the English Church, we leave our readers to judge. Nor will we enter the lists of his "traducers," if such they are to be considered, but will simply state the grounds of the accusation, and also the defense, and then leave the reader to form his own judgment.

The leading specifications in the charge seem to be as follows:—

1. His great fondness for the lives of Romish saints and their books of mystic piety was considered as evidence of the fact.
2. The fact, that while bishop of Bristol he had a cross erected in the chapel of his episcopal house, was also looked upon in the same light.
3. The doctrines of the "Charge" were also considered as having a tendency to Popery.
4. And, finally, some fifteen years after his death, it was asserted in a pamphlet, and through the public journals, by an anonymous writer, that he died "*in the communion of the Church of Rome.*"

Archbishop Secker replied, through the medium of a public print,\* to this charge, and defended his friend from the imputations cast upon his memory. The result of the controversy that ensued, appears to be a general conviction that the imputation upon the character of the bishop was wanting in validity; though it must be confessed that there are one or two circumstances in the case which we could have wished had been removed. The power and skill of his defender cannot be doubted; and as the very honor of the Church to which he belonged, and of which he was a bishop, was in some degree affected by the charge, we are entirely at liberty to suppose that every means of defense that he could avail himself of, were used. I will here give only a synopsis of this subject, as it was drawn out by Archbishop Secker, and after him by the lord bishop of Gloucester.

On the first point, Archbishop Secker remarks:—

"That he read books of all sorts, as well as books of mystic piety, and knew how to pick the good that was in them out of the bad; that his opinions were exposed without reserve in his *Analogy*, and in his sermons, and if the doctrine of either be Popish or unscriptural, the learned world hath mistaken strangely in admiring both."—*Butler's Works*, p. 12.

\* *St. James's Chronicle*, May 9, 1767.

As to the *cross*, the archbishop frankly owns, that for himself he wishes he had not made use of it; and thinks that in so doing the bishop did amiss. But then he asks,—

“Can that be opposed as any proof of Popery, to all the proof on the other side? Most of our churches have crosses upon them; are they therefore Popish churches? The Lutherans have more than crosses in theirs; are the Lutherans therefore Papists?”—*Butler's Works*, p. 18.

The third “count” in the indictment of Bishop Butler for heresy, viz., “that in his last episcopal charge he squinted very much toward that (Romish) superstition,” is combated by the views of the same prelate, as expressed in other parts of his writings.

Bishop Halifax urges that “no one was more sensible of the danger, or more earnest in maintaining, that external acts of themselves are nothing, and that moral holiness, as distinguished from bodily observances of every kind, is that which constitutes the essence of religion, than Bishop Butler.” It is also urged that the bishop is explicit on this point in many passages in his other writings; and, indeed, that the object of the Charge itself, as may be gathered from its whole tenor and scope, is nothing more nor less than to enforce the necessity of *practical religion*, as a part of Christian duty, and as tending to revive the *reality* and *power* of religion. On this point, it may not be amiss to present to the reader a few of the passages in which the bishop is most explicit.

“Though mankind have, in all ages, been greatly prone to place their religion in peculiar positive rites, by way of equivalent for moral precepts; yet, without making any comparison at all between them, and consequently without determining which is to have the preference, the nature of the thing abundantly shows all notions of that kind to be utterly subversive of true religion; as they are, moreover, contrary to the whole tenor of Scripture, and likewise to the most express particular declarations of it, that nothing can render us accepted of God without moral virtue.”—*Analogy*.

Again, in one of his sermons, he is led to speak directly upon the subject of Popery, and to place in direct contrast the Roman and Anglican Churches.

“The value of our religious Establishment ought to be very much heightened in our esteem, by considering what it is a security from; I mean that great corruption of Christianity, Popery, which is ever hard at work to bring us again under the yoke. Whoever will consider the Popish claims to the disposal of the whole earth, as of divine right, to dispense with the most sacred engagements, the claims to supreme absolute authority in religion; in short, the general claims which the canonists express by the words *plenitude of power*—whoever, I say, will consider Popery as it is professed at Rome, may see that it is manifest, open usurpation of all human and divine authority. But even

in those Roman Catholic countries where these monstrous claims are not admitted, and the civil power does, in many respects, restrain the Papal; yet persecution is professed, as it is absolutely enjoined by what is acknowledged to be their highest authority, a general council, so called, with the pope at the head of it; and is practiced in all of them, I think, without exception, where it can be done safely. Thus they go on to substitute force instead of argument; and external profession made by force, instead of reasonable conviction. And thus, corruptions of the grossest sort have been in vogue, for many generations, in many parts of Christendom; and are so still, even where Popery obtains in its least absurd form; and their antiquity and wide extent are insisted upon as proofs of their truth; a kind of proof, which, at best, can only be presumptive, but which loses all its little weight in proportion as the long and large prevalence of such corruptions have been obtained by force."—*Sermon before the House of Lords*, pp. 224, 225.

These passages certainly exhibit no great affection for the Catholic Church; and the last especially is worthy of particular notice. It gives a pretty clear view of some of the prominent corruptions of that church, and was written only four years before the "Charge" was delivered, and five before the death of the distinguished prelate. If Butler at that time believed it to be "the great corruption of Christianity," and a "manifest, open usurpation of all human and divine authority;" if these were his clear and conscientious convictions, after so many years of the prime of life spent in calm and profound research, and occupying high public stations in the Church, we must certainly require the most convincing proof to produce within us the belief that, amidst the closing scenes of life, all these convictions were given up, and that he died in the communion of the Catholic Church. It should further be recollected that this passage was uttered after the use of the cross in his house at Bristol, so that we have at least a presumptive evidence that the use of that cross, however much it might seem to savor of a love for Popish ceremonies, did not result from a love of Popery itself, or from an inward conviction of its being the true Christian church.

The preceding passages, and others which might be quoted from his writings, when collated with the objectionable features of the "Charge," will perhaps help us to a true understanding of their import. But while in so comparing them, we are convinced that the bishop reprobated the corruptions of the Catholic Church, its unwarranted claim and usurpation of temporal and spiritual power, its base substitution of the external forms of religion for the essence and power of Christianity; we cannot fail to discover an undue leaning toward "external forms" as an efficacious means of reviving, spreading, and perpetuating spiritual Christianity. But we do



not think that Butler is the only bishop in the English Church who may be suspected of this leaning toward forms and ceremonies; it has ever been a characteristic of that Church from the times of its early bishops down to the present. And, indeed, in the late Oxford movement, we read only a fuller development, a more decided form, of this tendency. Nor do we consider this tendency incompatible with a clear and decided conviction of the corruption and foul usurpations of the Catholic Church; nor indeed do we think it necessarily excludes all sound views of the inefficiency of the external forms of religion when the power and reality of it are wanting; for we believe that similar feelings and views prevail to some extent, at least, among the more pious of the clergy, even in the Catholic Church.

As it regards the report that "he died in the communion of the Church of Rome," several things are worthy of notice:—1. The report seems not to have been invented or even propagated by the Papists. 2. If it was a fact, it seems singular that a veil of such profound secrecy should have been drawn over it, that it was not divulged till fifteen years after his death. 3. Archbishop Secker, his constant and intimate friend, who was educated with him, and ever lived on terms of peculiar intimacy with him up to the time of his death, professes his entire ignorance of any such change in his friend, and his full and entire conviction that such was not the fact.

We would not wish to revive an accusation that has so long slumbered in obscurity,—an accusation that has been laid aside by common consent, if not from common conviction; but there are one or two features in the case which we think are worthy of notice:—1. Had the charge been entirely without foundation, it is not going too far to presume that within the space of fifteen years after his death, evidence might have been produced of such conclusive character as completely to have baffled the efforts of his calumniators, and produced universal conviction that the charge was groundless. This rational conviction in the case has not, however, been realized.\* 2. Again, we should naturally inquire for the *living witnesses*, if any such could be found, whose testimony could reach the case. Where were the attendants, the witnesses of his last sickness and death, the friend in whose house he

\* Bishop Halifax speaks of seeing the manuscript letters of Archbishop Secker, written in defense of Butler, and says: "They were wrapped together under one cover; on the back of which is written, in Archbishop Secker's own hand, the following words, or words to this effect: 'Presumptive arguments that Bishop Butler did not die a Papist.'"

died, the servants who attended him, the physicians, the clergy? Where were they?\* Though we do not credit the report, originating as it did so long after his death and with so many "presumptive evidences" against it; yet we cannot but regret that the matter had not been fully put to rest while it could have been done by the testimony of living witnesses.

Speaking of the letters written by Drs. Forester and Benson to Archbishop Secker, during the sickness of Bishop Butler, and immediately prior to his death, Bishop Halifax says:—

"These letters, which are still preserved in the Lambeth library, I have read; and not the slenderest argument can be collected from them in justification of the ridiculous slander we are here considering. If at that awful moment the bishop was not known to have expressed any opinion tending to show his dislike of Popery, neither was he known to have said any thing that could at all be construed in approbation of it; and the natural presumption is, that whatever sentiments he had formerly entertained concerning that corrupt system of religion, he continued to entertain to the last."—*Butler's Works*, Preface, p. 20.

We have thus given the charge and a brief synopsis of the circumstances upon which that charge was predicated, and also of the arguments by which they were repelled; and now we leave the reader to draw his own conclusion. If the vindication is not so clear and conclusive as might be wished, if any mystery or ground of doubt yet remain, after a careful scrutiny of these statements, we have nothing more to urge.

We have already exceeded our limits, and must here close. When we commenced this article, we designed to devote a large portion of it to the principles and reasonings of the Analogy, which must ever be considered the *great work* of Bishop Butler, the work on which his fame, as a scholar, a profound thinker, and an able theologian, must ever rest. It is a work that exerted a good and great influence upon the age in which it was produced; and still stands as a monument of the greatness of its author; a tower of strength, an impregnable fortress of truth. Not a tithe from its value has the lapse of time, or the advancement of philosophy, detracted; not a single feature in its grand and imposing symmetry has been defaced or even marred by the rude assaults of the enemies of truth. If a man loves skepticism let him beware of Butler; he cannot read the Analogy, fathom its depths, and yet remain an infidel. C.

*Amenia Seminary.*

\* Dr. Nathaniel Forester, and Dr. Martin Benson, then bishop of Gloucester, were with Bishop Butler in his last hours. Had both of these distinguished divines deceased prior to the year 1767?

## ART. X.—CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. *The Scripture Doctrine of Christian Perfection stated and defended: with a Critical and Historical Examination of the Controversy, both Ancient and Modern. Also Practical Illustrations and Advices. In a Series of Lectures.* By REV. GEORGE PECK, D. D. 12mo., pp. 474. New-York: G. Lane & P. P. Sandford. 1842.

WE insert the title-page of our work on Christian perfection for the benefit of the Book Concern and the information of the public—of course not for the purpose of saying any thing touching the merits of the performance: this we must leave to others, and shall most submissively abide the judgment of candid and enlightened criticism upon the subject. The author has long been impressed with the idea that a more extended discussion of the subject of this work than any which has hitherto been presented to the public in this country, was desirable. The events of the last few years have deepened this impression; and finally, after much earnest and careful study, he has ventured to give to the public the results of his investigations.

The work appears in the form of lectures, and is designed to take a sufficiently extensive view of the whole subject—doctrinal, historical, polemical, and practical. The first two and last four lectures are practical, those which intervene, are critical, historical, and controversial. Occasionally, notices of authors and books are inserted in the form of notes, that the reader, who has not an acquaintance with the authors referred to, may know the amount of authority to award to them.

Did we not honestly believe the doctrine of Christian perfection, as held by Mr. Wesley, to be the marrow and fatness of the gospel, we should never for a moment have run the hazard of presenting to the public a work upon the subject. Nor could we have been persuaded to this had it not been for a strong and decided conviction that the present state of the question urgently requires it. Under these convictions we have made an effort to meet the case. As to the manner in which the work is executed, we can only say we have done as well as we could under the circumstances, and hope our effort may be useful and have the divine blessing.

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2. *Memoirs of the Rev. Joseph Benson.* By RICHARD TREFFRY. 12mo., pp. 292. New-York: G. Lane & P. P. Sandford. 1842.

THE subject of this memoir was one of the number of Wesleyan Methodist preachers who acted a prominent part in conducting Methodism, through the perilous transition which followed the death



of Mr. Wesley, to its present condition of permanency and efficiency. The men who were, in the order of Providence, called to the great work of arousing a slumbering world, and restoring the simple institutions of primitive Christianity, were eminently adapted to the great object. And when they were removed by death, the delicate and responsible business of settling the connection upon a permanent basis devolved upon their sons in the gospel. To do this in accordance with the plan which Mr. Wesley had devised while living, required talent, zeal, and self-denial of no ordinary grade. These were not wanting. The great Head of the church raised up the appropriate instrumentality, and the fruit of their labor yet remains. Joseph Benson was no ordinary man. As a Christian, as a scholar, and as a minister of Jesus Christ, he had few equals. The present work was executed by one well qualified for the task, and should have a general circulation, especially among the Methodists in this country.

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3. *Poems, on Moral and Religious Subjects.* By ANNE LUTTON. 12mo., pp. 136. New-York: G. Lane & P. P. Sandford. 1842.

MISS LUTTON is a native of the Emerald Isle, and seems to possess the poetic gift in a degree somewhat higher than ordinary. The harp of Erin has long been celebrated for the sweetness of its melody, but we confess that it is seldom the case that we meet with such purity of sentiment blended with so much richness of versification as in some of the pieces that compose this small volume. The opening poem, "On Love," would have done no dishonor to the name of Spenser or Milton; and the others, though of a fugitive character, are chaste, beautiful, and instructive. The work is elegantly printed, and neatly bound in cambric and lettered.

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4. *Analysis of Watson's Theological Institutes. Designed for the Use of Students and Examining Committees.* 18mo., pp. 228. New-York: G. Lane & P. P. Sandford. 1842.

THE title-page of this work will naturally draw to it the special attention of those who are appointed in the different conferences to examine the candidates for reception into full connection, as well as the candidates themselves. It is presumed that, by availing themselves of this Analysis, both parties will be materially aided. It will also be found useful to all who would refresh their recollection of the matter and arguments of a work so voluminous as to require almost constant re-examination and study without some such aid. The work is from the pen of Professor M'Clintock, of Dickinson College, though,

by some miscalculation somewhere, his name does not appear in the title-page. The author's name is a sufficient guaranty for the fidelity and ability of its execution. We would especially recommend this manual to all our young preachers.

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5. *An Answer to the Question, Why are you a Wesleyan Methodist? To which is added, an Examination of a Tract entitled "Tracts for the People, No. 4—Methodism as held by Wesley. By D. S. P."* By REV. GEORGE PECK, D. D. 18mo., pp. 242. New-York: G. Lane & P. P. Sandford. 1842.

THE first part of this work is a plain common sense vindication of the institutions of Methodism against the assaults of high Church exclusionists. It is evidently the production of a sound logical mind, though being anonymous, we are not able to give the author's name. Our British brethren are finally fully committed in opposition to the extravagant claims of the national Establishment; and from the specimens of their efforts which have come to hand, we judge that the old doting mother will gain little by her insulting contempt of the *heretical* and *schismatical* off-shoot which *now* has the presumption to denominate itself the Wesleyan Methodist Church. Until the late conference the British Wesleyan Methodists modestly styled themselves the Wesleyan Methodist Connection. In their last pastoral address they call themselves a church. So it should be, and we rejoice that the step is finally taken. The second part of the volume was added by the agents as an amplification and an enlargement of the work, which, without it, would have been too small.

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6. *A Treatise on Secret and Social Prayer.* By RICHARD TREFFRY. 18mo., pp. 219. New-York: G. Lane & P. P. Sandford. 1842.

THE duty and the manner of performing the devotions of the closet, and of the social circle, are here clearly set forth, by one who speaks from long experience, as well as from an extensive and thorough knowledge of the Scriptures. Since the republication of this excellent little work was commenced, the venerable author has gone to his reward. But being dead, he yet speaks through several excellent works upon the great subject of experimental and practical godliness. Let the young Christian, especially, diligently peruse his work on prayer.

7. *Misericordia: or, Contemplations on the Mercy of God, regarded especially in its Aspects toward the Young.* By J. W. ETHRIDGE. 18mo., pp. 216. New-York: G. Lane & P. P. Sandford. 1842.

THIS work analyzes and presents *divine mercy* in its various manifestations in the salvation of sinners. The chapters are short, and the whole is well digested, well arranged, and well written. It is a work that we can recommend to our readers.

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8. *Notes, Critical and Practical, on the Book of Genesis; designed as a general Help to Biblical Reading and Instruction.* In two vols., 12mo., pp. 364, 444. New-York: Dayton & Newman. 1842. Also Notes, &c., on Exodus. In two vols., pp. 360, 299. Also Notes on Leviticus. In one vol., pp. 282. And also Notes on Joshua and Judges. In one vol., pp. 403. 1838. By GEORGE BUSH, Professor of Hebrew and Ancient Literature in the New-York City University.

THE high qualifications of Professor Bush as a Biblical critic and commentator have been long understood. And his attempts at illustrating the historical books of the Old Testament have so far been eminently successful. The professor has succeeded most happily in an effort which has often failed, that of writing a critical and learned commentary so as to be useful to the mere vernacular reader. Professor Bush is not only a ripe scholar, but a man of liberal views—and, as far as we have examined his commentaries, seems to design to present the real sense of the inspired writers, and not to make them subservient to a preconceived creed. We most heartily wish these volumes a wide circulation, and, at the same time, would most devoutly pray that God in his providence may spare the life, and preserve the health, and strengthen the heart and hands of the author, until he shall have given to the world a commentary, not only upon “the historical books,” but upon the whole Bible. Such a work, upon the plan, and executed with the ability, of the volumes now upon our table, would render infinite service to the cause of Biblical learning, and constitute a memorial for the author more enduring than one of marble or brass.

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9. *Dissertations on the Prophecies relative to the Second Coming of Jesus Christ.* By GEORGE DUFFIELD, Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Detroit. New-York: Dayton & Newman. 1842.

THIS work is acknowledged to be one of the most elaborate and difficult to meet of any which has yet appeared on the same hypotheses. The author labors to prove the *pre-millennial coming of Christ*. We are not yet convinced that the Scriptures assuredly teach that *Christ*



will come down from heaven, in person, and reign a thousand years on this earth. This view, which, with many other strange opinions, was entertained by many of the old fathers, has recently been revived, after having been exploded, by sober divines generally, for several centuries, and it seems must now make a strong effort to battle its way to public favor. We freely concede the subject is one which admits of debate. And to the discussion now pending we make no objections. It will probably result in good, provided the parties do not become too much excited, and are not too confident where there are strong grounds of doubt. An ample review of Mr. Duffield's work is undoubtedly called for, and will probably be forthcoming in time for our next number.

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10. *The Phenomena and Order of the Solar System.* By J. P. NICHOL, LL.D., F. R. S. E., Professor of Practical Astronomy in the University of Glasgow: author of "Views of the Architecture of the Heavens," &c. From the last Edinburgh edition. Illustrated with Plates. 12mo., pp. 166. New-York: Dayton and Newman.

THIS is a most instructive and beautiful little volume. The illustrations are so numerous and so perfect as to make the science of astronomy an easy and pleasant study to the young. We have seen no work of the size which appears to us so well adapted as a text-book for schools and seminaries of learning.

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11. *Uncas and Miantonomoh; an Historical Discourse, delivered at Norwich, (Conn.,) on the fourth Day of July, 1842, on the Occasion of the Erection of a Monument to the Memory of Uncas, the White Man's Friend, and first Chief of the Mohegans.* By WILLIAM L. STONE, author of the "Life of Brant," "Life and Times of Red Jacket," &c., &c. 18mo., pp. 209. New-York: Dayton & Newman. 1842.

THIS is a truly interesting little volume. The author has on former occasions distinguished himself for his diligent research into aboriginal history, and by his labors in this department has made valuable contributions to a department of history which is too little understood. It belongs to our own historians to present, in connection with the early history of this country, a true portrait of the chiefs and warriors of the original owners of the soil—to do justice to the memory of those doomed heroes, whose real greatness is too often overlooked, while their barbarities are emblazoned upon the enduring records of history. We hope the efforts of Colonel Stone to present in a true light the character of the injured red man will be suitably rewarded by an enlightened and generous public.

12. *Sacred Songs for Family and Social Worship: comprising the most approved Spiritual Hymns, with chaste and popular Tunes.* 12mo., pp. 343. Published by the American Tract Society.

As far as we are able to determine from a hasty examination of this work, it is what it professes to be—a book “comprising the most approved spiritual hymns, with chaste and popular tunes.” The hymns are well selected, and the tunes suited to purposes of devotion and spiritual improvement. We find in this collection several of John and Charles Wesley’s hymns, with their names connected with them. Due credit seems to be given to the authors of both the hymns and tunes. This is right. And we must say we could wish we had as good a work, upon the same plan, from our own press, to recommend to our people.

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13. *A Dictionary of Science, Literature, and Art: comprising the History, Description, and Scientific Principles of every Branch of Human Knowledge; with the Derivation and Definition of all the Terms in general Use.* Edited by W. T. BRANDE, F. R. S. L. & E., of Her Majesty’s Mint; Professor of Chemistry in the Royal Institution of Great Britain; Professor of Chemistry and Materia Medica to the Apothecaries’ Company, &c., &c., &c., assisted by JOSEPH CARWIN, Esq. The various Departments by eminent literary and scientific Gentlemen. Harper & Brothers.

THIS is a very able and useful work, the joint production of several eminent literary and scientific men, and contains a vast amount of important information. It is intended to supply the place, for all valuable purposes, of the larger encyclopedias; containing as many articles, and being decidedly more convenient for reference, while its cheapness places it within the reach of all classes. By refraining from all details not strictly essential, the different articles are made sufficiently full and precise, and notwithstanding the immense number of subjects, accurate and clear information is given in regard to each. There is scarcely a topic that is not more or less fully treated, and every individual in the community would be greatly benefited by the possession of such a work. It is issued in semi-monthly numbers, at *twenty-five cents* each, and the whole cost will be but *three dollars*; or about one-fourth that of the English edition.

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14. *The School and the Schoolmaster. A Manual for the Use of Teachers, Employers, Trustees, Inspectors, &c., &c., of Common Schools.* By ALONZO POTTER, D. D., and GEORGE B. EMERSON, A. M. In two Parts. 1 vol., 12mo., pp. 552. Harper & Brothers.

MUCH has been done within the last few years for the improvement of common schools; and more particularly in this state, by the intro-

duction of school district libraries, the appointment of county superintendents, and the general interest awakened in behalf of these schools. Considering their vast importance—furnishing the only means of scholastic instruction enjoyed by nineteen-twentieths, probably, of our youth—it is surprising they should ever have been neglected. But such, unhappily, has been the case; and these schools were in a course of rapid deterioration, until about eight years since a healthier public sentiment began to prevail in regard to them. This sentiment has been steadily acquiring greater force, and its effects have been most salutary in infusing new life and vigor into our common school system.

We have been led to these remarks by the perusal of this very valuable work, written at the suggestion of an enlightened citizen, through whose liberality a copy has been distributed gratuitously to every school district in the state. It is designed to point out the importance of education, the defects in our present system, the means of correcting them, the qualifications essential to teachers, the best modes of instruction, &c., &c., all with special reference to our common schools; and is the joint production of two eminent scholars, themselves accomplished and experienced teachers. It is our intention in a future number to notice this work as its importance deserves, and we shall therefore now dismiss it with the single observation, that it is written throughout with uncommon ability, and should be in the hands of all who have any thing to do with the management of schools, or the business of instruction. The necessity of due religious and moral culture, as the only proper basis of education, is strongly insisted upon.

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15. *Education: Part I.—History of Education, Ancient and Modern. Part II.—A Plan of youthful Culture and Instruction, based on Christian Principles.* By H. J. SMITH, A. M., Professor of Modern Languages in Pennsylvania College, and Professor of German Language and Literature in the Theological Seminary at Gettysburg, Penn. 1 vol., 18mo., pp. 340. Harper & Brothers.

WE have here another very valuable work on education, from the same press. The "History of Education," forming the first part, is the more interesting, from the fact that our literature has heretofore been exceedingly defective in this particular. Professor Smith has brought to the consideration of his subject a mind deeply impressed with its importance, and his views are sound, clear, and forcibly expressed. In his second part, he presents the outlines of a general plan of education, such as he would recommend, commencing with the earliest years under parental guidance, having for its object the due



development of the physical, intellectual, and moral powers, and carried forward through its several stages of domestic, social, and scholastic training, to the completion of its work in the formation of the perfect man. There is no more pernicious error than considering education confined to the school, and this error extensively prevails. The fact is, the work of education never ceases—it is constantly going on, whether in the child or the man. Every thing around us, every circumstance by which we are influenced or affected, has something to do with our education. Hence the parent is an educator no less than the schoolmaster—the world no less than the school or the college. Such is the comprehensive view of education taken by Professor Smith in this treatise, which every parent, as well as teacher, should read.

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16. *History of Europe, from the Commencement of the French Revolution, 1789, to the Restoration of the Bourbons in 1815.* By ARCHIBALD ALISON, F. R. S. E. Harper & Brothers.

AN able, full, and impartial history of this most important period—so eventful in itself, and, from the vast changes it has introduced, so influential upon the entire aspect of society—was a desideratum until the appearance of this work. It has received the highest commendations abroad, and, we do not doubt, will be read with great interest here. The style is vigorous and eloquent, the narrative clear and well connected, and the reflections just and appropriate. It is published in numbers, of about one hundred and fifty pages, at *twenty-five cents each*, or *four dollars for the work complete*, which is certainly surprisingly cheap, compared with the price of the English copy, which is £10, or nearly fifty dollars.

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17. *First Principles of Philosophy: being a familiar Introduction to the Study of that Science, for the Use of Schools and Academies.* By JAMES RENWICK, LL.D., Professor of Natural and Experimental Philosophy in Columbia College. Harper & Brothers.

NEXT to a thorough knowledge of the subject, experience in teaching is the best qualification for writing a good school-book; for the matter to be taught is scarcely more important than the mode of teaching it; which may either be such as to make study pleasing and profitable to the youthful scholar, or the contrary, in both respects. In looking over this treatise it is easy to be perceived that it is the production of an accomplished practical teacher, familiar with the youthful mind, and the best methods of adapting instruction to it. It is, what all elementary books should be, clear and easy to be understood, happily illustrated, and rendered interesting by the striking and satisfactory manner in which every thing is stated and explained. In these respects, and also in being more full and comprehensive, it is, we think, decidedly superior to the text-books on the same subject now in use. The numerous plates and diagrams are executed in the best manner.

18. *Hints on the Interpretation of Prophecy.* By M. STUART, Professor in Andover Theological Seminary. Second edition, with additions and corrections. 12mo., pp. 194. Andover: Allen, Morrill, & Wardwell. New-York: Dayton & Newman. 1842.

THE object of our author, in the body of his work, is to correct what he deems errors in the interpretation of prophetic language, and to lay down the correct hermeneutical principles to be employed in its study. This is an effort much of a piece with the professor's other critical works; but whether all his deductions are to be depended upon is quite another matter. An appendix of ninety-three pages is occupied with a review of the work of Mr. Duffield. In this review the author lays on heavy blows, for all of which, we understand, he is soon to be called to a strict and severe reckoning by Mr. D. The controversy is in able hands, and we hope may be sustained with the strength of argument and sobriety of manner that the public have a right to expect from such competitors.

19. *Travels in Egypt, Arabia Petræa, and Palestine, in 1840.* By Rev. STEPHEN OLIN, D.D., President of the Wesleyan University. In two vols., 12mo. Harper & Brothers. 1842.

THIS work is now in press, and will probably be published during the month of January. We have examined it, in manuscript, sufficiently to be able to speak with confidence of its general character. The object of the author is to describe the objects and scenes which came before him while passing through the interesting countries mentioned in the title-page. His volumes, we judge, will be found about equidistant from the light sketchy volumes of Stevens and the unwieldy tomes of Dr. Robinson; thus meeting a numerous class of minds not particularly interested in either. It is not necessary for us to forestall public opinion in relation to this work. The name and character of the learned and estimable author are a sufficient guaranty to the public for its faithful and able execution. We have no doubt but all who are in the least qualified to judge of the merits and utility of such a work will feel grateful to divine Providence that the author's health has been so far restored as to enable him to complete a design of so much interest to the age. We most heartily wish success to the work, and to the author years of health and successful toil in the intellectual and moral training of the youth of the country.

20. *The Triumph of Truth; or, the Vindication of Divine Providence. A Poem; in which Philosophy, Theology, and Description are combined. In Fourteen Books.* By Rev. CHARLES GILES. Second edition, revised and improved by the author. 18mo., pp. 288. New-York: G. Lane & P. P. Sandford. 1842.

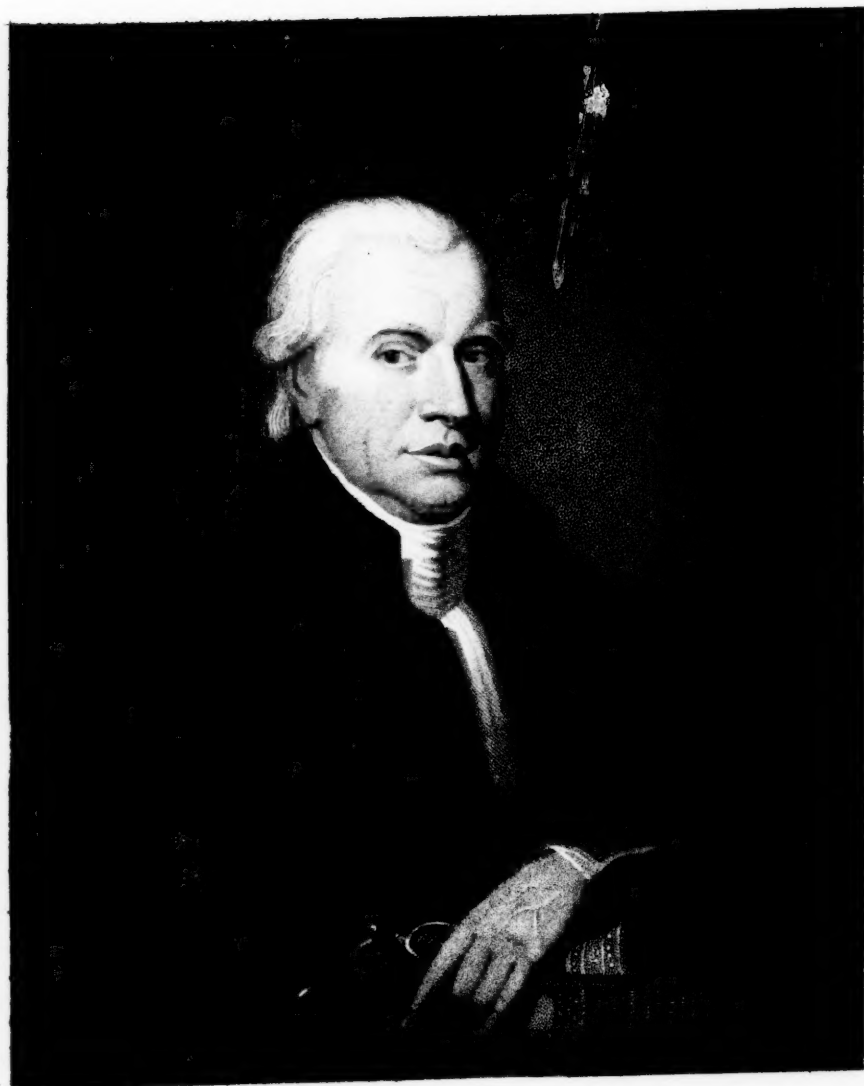
THIS is a truly religious poem. It is not, however, without those scintillations of wit and imagination which flow so spontaneously from the author's mind. The author also, with Young and Milton, reasons conclusively with the skeptic and the infidel upon the government of God, and the ways of divine Providence. We have not space for such a particular view of the work as might be deemed desirable. We are happy to say, that the reception and sale of the first edition show that the lovers of poetry highly appreciate the author's poetical powers, and constitute a strong pledge that the present improved edition will be well received and widely circulated.

21. *A Discourse on the Nature and Design of the Eucharist, or Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.* By ADAM CLARKE, LL.D. 18mo., pp. 154. New-York: G. Lane & P. P. Sandford. 1842.

WE reckon this among the best efforts which the learned author ever put forth upon a specific point. Our people (and we might hope all good Protestants in the country) must feel under a debt of gratitude to the agents of our Book Concern for giving to the public this convenient and beautiful edition of a work of so much interest. It comes out very timely. While real and semi-Romanists are croaking about the *real presence* in the sacrament, we are glad to be able to direct our readers to a Scriptural, rational, practical, and common sense treatise, which gives the true view of the subject, and cannot fail to impart to them real edification.







JOHN WILKINS, Esq. F.R.S.

Portrait of John Wilkins, Esq. F.R.S. by Sir Godfrey Kneller, 1673.

